The
Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME III OCTOBER, 1917 NUMBER 3

ORIGIN OF AMERICAN ABORIGINES: A FAMOUS CONTROVERSY

In the century and a half following the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the ships returning to Europe brought back tales of things hitherto unknown, of monsters of the deep and of ambiguous shapes of man and beast. It taxed the ingenuity of the Europeans to discover whence came that boundless multitude of beings, who were the natives of the New World, from what lands they had set forth, how they in their ignorance reached the New World, and what had changed them so much from their supposed origin. To have shown the origin of so many peoples was considered no less praiseworthy than to have discovered the lands themselves.[1] Attempts were made to connect the New World with Solomon's Ophir and Plato's Atlantis; some even made the claim that the Spaniards in their flight from the Moors had come to America, basing their arguments on the crosses found in Yucatan.[2] And while these attempts, on first sight, may seem crude and puerile, it must be remembered that even now the question of the origin of the Indians is a matter of conjecture.[3]

Many other queer theories were evolved to account for the inhabitants of the New World. Theophrastus Paracelsus, says Horn,[4] exhausted all foolishness, when he asserted that two Adams had been created, one in Asia and one in America. Most of the theories, however, did not go back to Adam, but started

[1] HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 6. For Bibliography, see p. 275.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[3] AD. F. BANDELIER, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. i, p. 411, s. v. *America*.

[4] HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

The
Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME III OCTOBER, 1917 NUMBER 3

ORIGIN OF AMERICAN ABORIGINES: A FAMOUS CONTROVERSY

In the century and a half following the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the ships returning to Europe brought back tales of things hitherto unknown, of monsters of the deep and of ambiguous shapes of man and beast. It taxed the ingenuity of the Europeans to discover whence came that boundless multitude of beings, who were the natives of the New World, from what lands they had set forth, how they in their ignorance reached the New World, and what had changed them so much from their supposed origin. To have shown the origin of so many peoples was considered no less praiseworthy than to have discovered the lands themselves.[1] Attempts were made to connect the New World with Solomon's Ophir and Plato's Atlantis; some even made the claim that the Spaniards in their flight from the Moors had come to America, basing their arguments on the crosses found in Yucatan.[2] And while these attempts, on first sight, may seem crude and puerile, it must be remembered that even now the question of the origin of the Indians is a matter of conjecture.[3]

Many other queer theories were evolved to account for the inhabitants of the New World. Theophrastus Paracelsus, says Horn,[4] exhausted all foolishness, when he asserted that two Adams had been created, one in Asia and one in America. Most of the theories, however, did not go back to Adam, but started

[1] HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 6. For Bibliography, see p. 275.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[3] AD. F. BANDELIER, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. i, p. 411, s. v. *America*.

[4] HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

from the Deluge or the Confusion of Tongues. There is scarcely a nation to which some share in the original peopling of America has not been attributed: Icelanders, Celts, Welsh, Norse, Spaniards, Romans, Jews, Chanaanites, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Egyptians, Abyssinians, Polynesians, East Indians, Chinese, Tartars and Scythians—all have been put forward on one pretext or another as the ancestors of the Indian nations.

The most famous of the early discussions of the various theories was that of the Dominican, Gregorio Garcia, a missionary for twenty years in South America, who reviewed the question in his *Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo*, published at Valencia in 1607. He reviews the supposed navigations of the Phoenicians, the identity of Peru with Solomon's Ophir, and the chances of African, Roman, and Jewish migrations, only to reject them all and to favor a coming of Tartars and Chinese.[5] Edward Brerewood, in his *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages and religions*, published at London in 1632 and 1635, also claimed a Tartar origin, although he thought that certain groups of Indians in New England came originally from Iceland.[6]

A little over twenty-five years before, Marc Lescarbot, a French lawyer, sailed for Port Royal in Acadia, to satisfy his curiosity concerning the wonders of the New World, and, after spending a year with the Indians there, helping them in various ways, returned to France. Two years later (1609), he published a narrative of his voyage under the title *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, in which he gives a summary of all the French attempts at colonizing in America, notably Florida, Brazil and Acadia.[7] In this work, Lescarbot claims that, when Joshua entered the land of Chanaan and took possession of it, the Chanaanites were so astonished that they lost courage and took to their ships, and were finally cast up by storms upon the American shores.[8] He further contends that Noah had shown the way

---

[5] WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 369. Tartars were understood to embrace all those barbarous tribes dwelling between the Caspian and Black Seas in the West and the Pacific Ocean and Behring Strait in the East, although Behring Strait had not been discovered at that time and it was not known whether Asia and America were connected or not.

[6] DE LAET, *Notae*, pp. 122 et seq.; HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[7] LINDSAY, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. ix, p. 190, s. v. *Lescarbot*.

[8] DE LAET, *Notae*, pp. 110–111; HORN, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

to America to some of his sons and had assigned to them as their abode, "those lands to the West, in which, perhaps, he had been born."[9]

In 1569, a Spanish Jesuit, José de Acosta, was sent by his provincial to South America. Here he remained for sixteen years, teaching and travelling, studying and making copious notes.[10] In 1588, after having spent three years in Mexico, he returned to Spain and published his notes in Latin under the title *De Natura Novi Orbis*, and two years afterwards in Spanish under the title *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*.[11] In this work, Acosta paid attention particularly to a *way* whereby the Indians *could* have reached America. The gist of his opinion is that the Americans came from Asia, which region is either contiguous to America or separated from it by a very small strait. He proves this from the animals, because in no other way could they have entered America. Some men, he says, were cast upon American shores by storms and some came there by chance, but, that anyone through a preconceived plan had sailed to America, he denies absolutely.[12]

The chief literary controversy, however, over this question was that which took place between Hugo Grotius and Johan De Laet, two Dutchmen, the one born in Delft in 1583, the other in Antwerp about 1582,[13] and if the fame of Grotius depended upon the results of this controversy, he would be almost entirely unknown today. Much has been written about Grotius, because of the fame he attained as an ambassador and international lawyer. It was he who gathered together the scattered members (*membra disiecta*) of the body of international law and united them in his epoch-making work: *De jure belli ac pacis*, published at Antwerp in 1625. Of De Laet, however, very little has been written, although his services to the early geography of America and to history can scarcely be over-estimated.

---

[9] De Laet, *Notae*, p. 117; Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[10] Ad. F. Bandelier, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. i, p. 108, s. v. *Acosta*.

[11] Winsor, Vol. i, p. 262.

[12] Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 12; De Laet, *Notae*, pp. 72 et seq.

[13] So Winsor, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 2; Hubert (p. 737) says 1593; and Nicéron (p. 339) says "about the end of the sixteenth century."

A story[14] is told of him that is very characteristic of the esteem which he enjoyed. He had deciphered the handwriting of Claude Saumaise for the printers, when they were publishing the latter's works. Saumaise had written so fast that his writing was extremely illegible and the printers had not been able to read it until they received De Laet's aid. Shortly after De Laet's death, when Saumaise was passing by the shop of the Elzeviers, Louis Elzevier, who was on the door-step, put his hand to his hat to salute Saumaise without the latter perceiving him. Whereupon the famous printer called out to Saumaise: "What's the matter there? Why don't you return the salute to your best friends?" Saumaise replied: "Ha, am I now in condition to give a salute to anyone? Don't you know that, in losing De Laet, I have lost my hand?"

Since almost nothing is known of De Laet's life except what he himself has accidently set down in his own works, a slight digression may be pardoned here to consider these works. From these it is evident that he was a geographer, historian, philologian and naturalist of no little skill. In 1624, he was established at Leyden and for twenty-five years thereafter he was busy publishing and editing books for the Elzeviers. As director of the Dutch West India Company, he had, of course, ready access to its records, while as co-patroon of Rensselaerswyck he had an especial interest in the country where his daughter, Johanna, and his son-in-law had made their home.[15] Therefore to popularize the knowledge of foreign lands connected with that company, he wrote his *Nieuwe Wereldt*,[16] which is an excellent compilation made from the works of a great number of foreign geographers and navigators. This was issued from the Elzevier Press at Leyden in 1625. Five years later there appeared a second revised

---

[14] NICÉRON, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[15] WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, which contains a facsimile of De Laet's signature; cf. also *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, second series, Vol. i, p. 285.

[16] For complete title, see WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 4; *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, second series, Vol. i (New York, 1841), p. 284; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741. See also HUBERT, FOPPENS, and NICÉRON. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. A translation of extracts from the Dutch edition and of the additions in the Latin and French editions concerning New Netherlands has been published in the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*. second series, Vol. i (New York, 1841), pp. 281–316, and Vol. ii (New York, 1849), part ii, pp. 372–373.

and enlarged edition, which contained several new maps. Among these was a map of *Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia*, in which are to be found such names as *Patawomeque* (Potomac) and *Sasquesahanough* (Susquehanna),[17] and in which De Laet for the first time, placed Lake Champlain with fair accuracy and gave to Cape Cod a shape more nearly its own.[18] It is interesting to note that this work also contained a map of the Orinoco River and the *Laguna Parima* with its city, Manoa, or El Dorado.[19] De Laet's intention to give to his fellow-citizens as perfect a description of the New World as circumstances would allow, was carefully carried out, so that a Latin translation[20] and a French translation[21] followed within the next ten years. This was followed later by a history or yearly account of the proceedings of the Dutch West India Company from its beginning to 1636.[22]

Meanwhile, the Elzeviers were busily engaged in publishing a series of historical monographs on the countries of Europe and Asia, which, because of their appearance in extremely small form, were called the "Little Elzevirian Commonwealths." In the publication of these volumes, De Laet played no small part, so that Struve,[23] writing about a century later, says that De Laet's must be considered the best of all that had appeared.

---

[17] WINSOR, Vol. iii, p. 125, which contains a facsimile of this map.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 381–382.

[19] WINSOR, Vol. ii, p. 587; the following page contains a facsimile of this map.

[20] For complete title, see WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 4; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741, and Supplement, Vol. i, col. 742. See also HUBERT, FOPPENS, NICÉRON, and the *Nouvelle Biographie*. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. "In preparing the Latin edition of the 'New World' De Laet recomposed the work anew, condensing many chapters, interweaving new materials collected in the interval." (*Collections of the New York Historical Society, op. cit.*, p. 287.)

[21] For complete title, see WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 4; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741, and Supplement, Vol. i, col. 742. See also HUBERT, FOPPENS, NICÉRON, and the *Nouvelle Biographie*. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. The French translation was made from the Latin edition (*Collections of the New York Historical Society, op. cit.*, p. 287). A translation into Spanish of that part of the "New World" which concerns Porto Rico was made by Segundo Ruiz Bélvis and published in *Biblioteca Historica de Puerto-Rico, que contiene varios documentos de los siglos XV, XVI, XVII y XVIII, coordinados y anotados por* D. ALEJANDRO TAPIA Y RIVERA (Puerto-Rico, 1854).

[22] For complete title, see WINSOR, Vol. iv, p. 417, n. 5; *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, Vol. iv, p. 192; and BRUNET, Vol. iii, col. 741.

[23] STRUVE, p. 854; cf. also NICÉRON, p. 348.

The first of these was that on England, which was issued in 1625.[24] Almost half of this work was taken up by a Latin translation (not De Laet's[25]) of Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*.[26] Three years later the volume on Italy[27] appeared. The editing of this volume had been entrusted to Thomas Segeth and he had already finished a translation of an anonymous Italian work on the princes of Italy, when his death in the latter part of 1627 forced the Elzeviers to fall back upon De Laet, who is responsible for the rest of the work.

In 1629, the volumes on Spain[28] and France[29] were published,

---

[24] *Thomae Smithi Angli De Republica Anglorum Libri tres. Quibus accesserunt Chorographica illius descriptio aliique politici tractatus. Editio ultima prioribus multo auctior* (Lug. Batavor., Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1641). There is a copy of this in the Library of Congress. As the title indicates, this edition is more complete than that of 1625 or that of 1630. See also NICÉRON, pp. 342-343; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

[25] (ALSTON'S edition of SMITH'S *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 146). "The Latin of De Laet's edition is a mere reproduction of John Budden's translation (1610?) without acknowledgment."

[26] Smith wrote it in English in 1565 (cf. ALSTON'S edition, p. xiv) and it was published six years after his death under the title: *De Republica Anglorum. The maner of gouernement or policie of the Realme of Englande.* [London, 1583.] There is a copy in the Library of Congress. The Latin translation used by De Laet was made from one of the many editions which followed and contained additional matter, chiefly two chapters in the third book, which it has been supposed that Smith never wrote. See preceding note.

[27] *De Principatibus Italiae, Tractatus Vary* (Lugd. Bat., Ex officina Elzeuiriana, 1628). This contains [1] *Incerti Auctoris De Principibus Italiae Commentarius, ex Italico in Latinum versus a Thoma Segetho* and [2] *Tractatus de Territoriis, Potentia, Familiis, Foederibus Principum, Rerumpublicarum, et eorum qui hodie in Italia rerum potiuntur: e variis et probatissimis authoribus magna cura et labore collectus*, which is the work of De Laet. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. See also NICÉRON and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

[28] *Hispania, sive de Regis Hispaniae regnis et opibus commentarius* (Lugd. Bat., Elzevir., 1629). There were two editions of this in the same year, the second of which contains considerable additions (see NICÉRON, p. 341; and *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, vol. iii, p. 207). NICÉRON says: "There are many faults in this little work, but they ought to be less attributed to De Laet than to the authors whom he copied." See also STRUVE, p. 858; the *Nouvelle Biographie;* and FOPPENS.

[29] *Gallia, sive de Francorum Regis Dominiis et Opibus Commentarius* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1629). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. The preface states that this is different from that work which appeared from the same press under the title: *Respublica sive Status Regni Galliae, diversorum authorum.* See also STRUVE, pp. 857-858; NICÉRON; FOPPENS; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

and a year later, that on the Belgian Confederation.[30] The latter which may be of interest now, in view of the present war, treats of the following provinces of the present Netherlands and Belgium: Geldria (Gelderland), Hollandia, Zelandia (Zeeland), Traiectensis Diocesis (Utrecht), Frisia (Friesland), Transisalania (Oberyssel), Groninga et Umlandia (Gronengen and Drenthe), Brabantiae Pars, and Flandriae Pars. Under each of the first seven of these headings, De Laet describes the geographical situation and boundaries; climate and soil; customs, characteristics and language of inhabitants; chief cities and towns; civil government of the entire province and of individual cities; trials and tribunals; and laws.

In the following year came the volume on the Empire of the Grand Mogul or *True* India,[31] that is, not the one discovered by Columbus. It is dedicated to "Daniel Heinsius, Knight of Saint Mark; Counsellor and Historiographer of the most Serene Gustavus Adolphus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals; Professor of Civil Government, Librarian and Secretary in the very celebrated Academy of Leyden." This work contains ten chapters, the nature of which may be judged from the following subjects: topographic description; climate and soil; nature, customs, institutions and superstitions of natives; political and civil government; money, weights and measures; wealth of the Grand Mogul; his military forces; kings of India; and history of India.

Besides being responsible for other volumes of the "Elzevirian

---

[30] *Belgii Confoederati Respublica: seu Gelriae, Holland., Zeland., Traject., Fris., Transisal. Groning. chorographica politicaque descriptio* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1630). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. NICÉRON says that there were three editions in the same year, the second and third being alike, but containing more than the first (cf. the *Nouvelle Biographie*). See also FOPPENS; and *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, Vol. iv, pp. 460–461.

[31] *De Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India Vera Commentarius, e variis auctoribus congestus.* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631). There is a copy in the Library of Congress bound together with GROTIUS' *De Mari Libero* and MARULA'S *De Maribus* (Elzevier, 1633). There were two editions in the same year, equally good, neither containing more than the other (see NICÉRON, p. 342; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*). See also FOPPENS.

Commonwealths," namely, those on Persia,[32] on Portugal,[33] on Poland, Lithuania, Prussia and Livonia,[34] and on Turkey,[35] De Laet also published notable works along other lines. In 1635, he edited the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder.[36] Twelve years later, he published a book *On Gems and Precious Stones*, to which was prefixed the work of Theophrastus on the same subject.[37] In the following year, De Laet gathered together and put in order the notes of the celebrated naturalist, Margraff, who died on his return from a voyage of exploration to Brazil.[38] The last work published by De Laet was an edition of Vitruvius on architecture together with the works of several minor writers

---

[32] *Persia, sive Regni Persici Status variaque itinera excerpta* (Lugduni Batavorum Elzevier, 1633 and 1637). The second edition has one more chapter than the first, and article 8 of part 1, which in the first edition was at the end, is put in its place in the second edition (see NICÉRON, p. 342; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*). NICÉRON (p. 343) says: "That of Persia is particularly esteemed, being an extract of many curious voyages, made with taste and choice." See also FOPPENS.

[33] *Portugallia sive De Regis Portugalliae Regnis et Opibus Commentarius* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Elzeviriana, 1641). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. There is nothing in the work itself to indicate its authorship, but STRUVE (p. 859), NICÉRON, FOPPENS, and the *Nouvelle Biographie* agree in attributing it to De Laet. A second edition appeared in 1644, (see NICÉRON and the *Nouvelle Biographie*).

[34] *Respublica Poloniae, Lithuaniae, Prussiae et Livoniae* (Amst., 1642). This work is listed only by FOPPENS.

[35] *Turcici Imperii Status seu discursus varii de Rebus Turcarum.* This work is listed only by FOPPENS and no place or date of publication is given.

[36] *Plinii Historia Naturalis* (Lugduni Batavorum, Elzevier, 1635). 3 vols. This work is listed in NICÉRON, HUBERT, and the *Nouvelle Biographie.*

[37] *Ioannis de Laet Antverpiani De Gemmis et Lapidibus Libri Duo; quibus praemittitur Theophrasti Liber De Lapidibus Graece et Latine cum Brevibus Annotationibus* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Ioannis Maire, 1647). There is a copy in the Library of Congress, bound together with *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia, quam olim edidit Anselmus Boetius de Boot* (Lugduni Batavorum, Maire, 1647), which occupies the first half of the volume. The pages of Theophrastus's work are unnumbered; De Laet's work begins on page 1 and is dedicated to "Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Frederick, King of Bohemia, Count Palatine, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the most excellent gem of her sex." De Laet may have been the editor of the third edition of De Boot's work mentioned above. See BRUNET, Vol. i, col. 1108, s. v. *Boot*; NICÉRON; FOPPENS; and the *Nouvelle Biographie.*

[38] *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae, in qua Guil. Pisonis de Medicina Brasiliensi Libri IV et Georgii Maregravii Historiae Rerum Naturalium Brasiliae Libri VIII, cum annotationibus Joannis de Laet* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1648). See BRUNET, Vol. iv, col. 677, s. v. *Pison;* HUBERT; NICÉRON; and the *Nouvelle Biographie.*

on the same subject.[39] This was published in 1649, the year in which De Laet died. In all these works De Laet proves his vast and profound knowledge, but he was rather a popularizer than a savant.[40]

But to return to the controversy on the origin of the Indians: it was while Grotius was at Paris as the Ambassador from Sweden that he published his *De Origine Gentium Americanarum*,[41] a brochure of fifteen pages. In this work, Grotius says by way of preface that he had often wondered that none of the many learned men of his time had made a careful investigation into the origin of those peoples who, before the advent of the Spaniards, inhabited those lands which some called America, others West India. No one, he claims, had done for the Indians of the New World what Sallust had done for the ancient Africans, Tacitus for the ancient Britons, and Strabo for many other ancient peoples. "Since," he continues, "I have read some works of Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Dutchmen, who have been there, I thought I would be doing no useless thing, if I communicated to those living and to come the more probable opinions on the subject, with a view that those who, through their travels or perusal of books I have not seen, have a greater knowledge of those matters, might confirm my opinions or, for good reasons, reject them."

---

[39] *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Libri X cum notis; praemittuntur Elementa Architecturae collecta ab Henr. Wottono; accedunt Lexicon Vitruvianum Bern. Baldi Urbinatis et ejusdem Scamilli impares Vitruviani; De Pictura Libri III Leon. Bapt. de Albertis; De Sculptura excerpta ex Pomponio Gaurico; Lud. Demontiosii Commentarius de Sculptura et Pictura; omnia collecta a Jo. de Laet* (Amst., Elzevier, 1649). This is the title, as given by FOPPENS; NICÉRON gives a slightly different wording. See also HUBERT; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

[40] HUBERT, p. 737.

[41] *Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (n. p., 1642). There is a copy in the Library of Congress. De Laet republished it, when he published his reply (*Notae*). For other editions, see next two notes. It must have been written at least eight months before published (see below, p. 270). There is an English translation in the *Bibliotheca Curiosa* entitled: *On the Origin of the Native Races of America, A Dissertation by Hugo Grotius. To which is added A Treatise on Foreign Languages and Unknown Islands. By Peter Albinus. Translated from the original Latin, and enriched with Biographical Notes and Illustrations by Edmund Goldsmid* (Edinburgh, 1884). There are only 350 copies of this translation, one of which is in the Library of Congress. "The translation is unfortunate in its blunders" (WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 369, n. 1).

Grotius held that the Americans were not a very ancient race and had come to America chiefly from Europe. He argued that all North America, except Yucatan (which had an Ethiopian stock), was peopled from the Scandinavian North; that the Peruvians were from China, and that the Moluccans peopled the regions below Peru. He deprecated the attempts of those who, like Acosta, claimed a Scythian origin, and concluded by saying: "These are the opinions I was able to gather together concerning the origin of the American peoples, partly from tradition, partly from conjecture; and if anyone has more certain opinions than these, I shall enjoy the gain of an exchange of views, and for that gain shall give him thanks."

That the question discussed in this work of Grotius was of overwhelming interest is attested by the fact that three editions of the pamphlet appeared in the same year,[42] as well as by the number of replies and counter-replies which it evoked. The new race with which the Dutch had come in contact through the operations of the Dutch West India Company, had sufficiently excited the interest of Johan De Laet, a director of that company, to induce him to study their habits and speculate upon their origin, so that when Grotius published his treatise on the subject, De Laet was quick to enter into the field to combat Grotius' theories.

In a dissertation[43] published at Amsterdam in 1643, De Laet chides Grotius for saying in his introductory paragraph that no

---

[42] "Sabin mentions three editions of this year: Amst., Paris, and the above edition," says the Library of Congress card for the copy mentioned in preceding note.

[43] There is a copy of this work in the library of Rev. Dr. H. Hyvernat at the Catholic University of America (see title below, in Bibliography). The same volume also contains De Laet's second dissertation (see title below, in Bibliography). The Library of Congress has a copy like this and also another like this with the exception of the first title page, which differs only in the style of type used. The *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana* (Vol. iii, p. 390) gives the title as: *H. Grotii Dissert. Duae de Origine Gentium Americanarum, cum notis et observ. J. de Laet.* The Library of Congress also has a copy of this first dissertation of De Laet bound separately, in which two folios (4pp.) follow the title-page and precede p. 3, containing a letter from Nicolaus Herouart, which belongs in a work of Robert Comte on the same subject (see below, *note 52*). See also BRUNET, Supplement, Vol. i, col. 743; the *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana*, Vol. v, p. 50; HUBERT; NICÉRON; FOPPENS; WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 370; and the *Nouvelle Biographie.*

one had made a careful investigation of the subject, and shortly thereafter contradicts himself by mentioning some who claimed that the aborigines came from Scythia. With regard to the latter opinion, De Laet says that Grotius has misstated the argument.

> For two questions must be considered here: "Who could have come to the New World?" and "How could they have come?" Both questions must have a satisfactory answer, if the puzzle is to be solved correctly. Those who hold that the Indians came from Scythia or Great Tartary do not necessarily mean that they were Scythians or of Scythian origin, for they may mean peoples dispossessed and driven out by the Scythians, of which kind of transmigration history furnishes us with many examples. Consequently, the arguments which Grotius bases upon this hypothesis, arguments which are drawn from the genius and customs of the Scythian people, do not refute the opinion intended.
>
> But, granting Grotius' supposition for the sake of argument, he went too far in basing his claim against the Scythian origin on the statement that there were no horses in America before the arrival of the Spaniards, although Scythia was always full of horses and the Scythians used them even to the extent of sometimes using their blood as drink. The fact that Scythia was then full of horses does not prove that such was always the case or that such was the case when the supposed transmigration occurred, which must have happened many centuries ago, because the vast multitudes of men in America differ so much in their geniuses, languages, customs, and morals, and the propagation of such vast numbers must have taken many centuries. Consequently, the inference is easy that that transmigration took place long ago, and immediately after the dispersion in Asia, on account of the confusion of tongues.

In this way, De Laet takes up each point in Grotius' argument and comments upon it, until he comes to Grotius' conclusion. To this he replies:

> From what I have said I think it is sufficiently clear that the illustrious man did not make good use of tradition or conjecture in explaining the origin of the American peoples, and, moreover, that others have made more probable statements. This only shall I add in place of an epilogue, that he is to be praised for his attempt and to be thanked for having been willing to disclose his opinion on a question of such difficulty.
>
> For my part, I am of the opinion that, since America is as extensive as our own world and was not less densely inhabited than Europe or Asia or Africa, it is altogether to be believed that it did not begin to be inhabited first 500 or 1,000 years ago, but that, immediately after the confusion of tongues and the consequent dispersion of families, there

was a migration even to America. For I see no other ways whereby a suitable account can be rendered for such a great multitude of inhabitants everywhere in America and the almost infinite number of different languages, which differ *toto caelo* from themselves and from European languages.

And yet I think it undeniable that new strangers came also in subsequent centuries, whether they came to this part or that part by chance or by intention. I cannot make myself believe that this happened after the reception of the Faith of Christ, because not even the slightest vestiges of Christianity have been found anywhere in these places. Now, no example can be found, I think, of any nation or people, after accepting properly the Christian mysteries, having thereafter obliterated them to such an extent that no vestige remains. That some provinces or regions, which contained Christians once, have none now, is due to the fact that the inhabitants have changed their abode, or have been altogether wiped out by newcomers.

In the next place, I think we ought especially consider the ways by which the aborigines could have come to America; for they came either by land or sea. That they could not have come by sea in those first ages or for a long time after is proved by the lack of knowledge of navigation in those centuries. Wherefore, we must believe that they came especially by land, and investigate the separation between Asia and America, whether there is any or how little it is, and likewise the relationship of South America to New Guinea. For in other parts, the two oceans make too vast a separation. For this purpose attention must be given to the statements of historians, since they treat of the migrations of peoples, whether voluntary or forced. Here, I think, the least credence should be given to conjectures, unless to those which are extremely probable.

With reference to Grotius' concluding sentence, De Laet says:

But, although I cannot yet merit thanks from the illustrious man on account of more certain opinions, yet I hope he will not be ungrateful, because I have shown that what he had persuaded himself was certain is partly uncertain, partly false, and because I could not allow him to be deceived any longer. But in order to be able to merit greater thanks, I shall add an examination of other opinions and a few observations, which might be able to lead to a fuller solution of this most difficult question.

Then follow the opinions of José de Acosta, Marc Lescarbot, and Edward Brerewood, with comments thereon, and twelve observations, which De Laet thought it would be worth while to add. In these, he considers anything that he thinks might throw light on a question "still so obscure and difficult." Pliny, the Azores, and the Canaries; Wales, Ireland, the Orcades, with

David Powell's story of Madoc; the characteristics and customs of the Scythians and the Polynesians; de Moraës' argument about the Carthaginians and the Jews—all come in for some consideration. Moreover, De Laet discusses the language, religion, form of government, physical characteristics, marriage and family relations, mode of living and dwellings, and method of reckoning time of the Indians in every known section of North and South America. An interesting point in this connection is his comparison of the Irish, French, Icelandic, Huron, Iroquois and Mexican languages.

De Laet's contention, therefore, was briefly this: the Scythian race furnished the predominant population of America; the Spaniards went to the Canaries and thence some of their vessels drifted to Brazil; the story of Madoc's Welshmen is probably true; it is not unlikely that the Polynesians may have floated to the western coast of South America; and minor migrations may have come from other lands.

The opposition of De Laet brought forth a second dissertation[44] from Grotius, who wrote in a very bitter vein. Since De Laet wore a beard like the Capuchins, perhaps to affect greater authority,[45] Grotius writes his reply "against an envious detractor, whom a shadowy beard makes good."[46] Grotius thought that De Laet did not write very elegant Latin and laughed at him in the following epigram,[47] which would lose its point if translated:

> Latius haud Latius satis est: nec scribere cessat
> Latius; ut sileat Latius, est satius.

A large part of this second dissertation of Grotius is taken up with bitter invective. He calls De Laet by way of reproach *obtrectator*, *presbyter*, and *exercitor* and says that "he is of such a character that whatever he himself has not read or does not wish to believe, he says is false," and that "everything he has written

---

[44] *De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio Altera adversus obtrectatorem, opaca quem bonum facit barba* (Paris, 1643). This is the title given by NICÉRON, p. 344 (cf. FOPPENS, p. 672). De Laet republished it, when he published his reply (*Responsio*).

[45] FOPPENS, p. 672.

[46] See title in n. 44, above.

[47] FOPPENS, p. 672.

against me, he has written with a desire, not for truth, but for detraction." Near the end of his treatise, Grotius repeats the assertion made in his first treatise to the effect that he would be grateful, if anyone would put forward more certain opinions. "But let him do it," he continues, "as good men should, not after the manner of vilifying controversialists."

Of course, this called for a defence from De Laet, which made a prompt appearance in 1644.[48] After answering Grotius' strictures point for point, De Laet finally comes to the sentence just quoted, in which his good faith is impugned. This causes him to burst forth in righteous, yet mildly expressed, indignation and incidentally adds a new and personal touch to the controversy. Therefore, it may be pardonable to quote De Laet's words:

> I have not acted otherwise than good men should. I have shown with many reasons that your opinions were not probable. But you received them so angrily, so contumeliously, that, although I had hoped you would be grateful to me, you censured me in unworthy ways and abused me on nearly every single page—which is not acting as good men should. And that all may know that I have done nothing as a vilifier or detractor, I shall disclose here what moved me to publish my *Notae*.
>
> About eight months before you published your first dissertation, it was handed to me without the name of its author by a relative, who said he had been requested to give it to me to read and consider, yet he did not tell me then from whom he had received it or whose it was. I gave it a cursory reading, and, when I noticed that there was much in it which either was not true or was not sufficiently proved, I briefly noted it down, and handed it back, together with the books of Acosta in Spanish and a Mexican vocabulary, thinking that the treatise was the work of an author living in Holland or perhaps at The Hague, whence my relative had received it from your brother. A little while after, I learned that it was the child of your brain, and that my relative had received it from your brother.
>
> Now when that dissertation was published under your name and had arrived here, I promptly seized upon it, eager to know whether you had given any account of my observations. But seeing that nothing had been altered by you, as far as I could remember (for I had not kept a copy of my observations), I did not think you would receive it in evil part,

[48] See title below, in Bibliography, and *note* 43. The Library of Congress has a copy of this second dissertation of De Laet bound separately. FOPPENS (p. 672) says a second edition appeared in 1646. See also BRUNET, Supplement, Vol. i, col. 743; NICÉRON; WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 370; and the *Nouvelle Biographie*.

if I were to examine a little more diligently what had occurred to you as probable or otherwise. And I did this modestly and with a desire for searching out the truth, not for vilifying and irritating you.

Let unbiased readers judge, then, whether any fault remains with me and whether you were grateful to me. For I frankly admit that, if you had altered ever so little of it or at least had given an account of my friendly admonitions, never would I have written a word upon this subject, but, on the contrary, had you requested it, would willingly have furnished all my opinions. For my desires are elsewhere, nor have I any wish to contend with anyone on subjects, which, without prejudice to faith, can be determined either way.[49] And what I now reply, I do so under compulsion. But for the future, I shall not descend further into this controversy, but shall patiently bear whatever you pour forth upon me.

In reply to Grotius' assertion that "Certainly unless those priests who have been made for the sake of time,[50] make better criticisms than those of yours are, they could be done without," De Laet replies:

Certainly so, if they make criticisms such as yours; whether mine are such, impartial readers will judge. When I added my notes to your conjectures, I no more performed the functions of a priest than you the functions of an ambassador when you published them. Wherefore, there is no reason why one should object to my order, even if I have erred

---

[49] Grotius, in one place (DE LAET, *Responsio*, p. 47), claimed that De Laet's opinions were very dangerous to piety.

[50] It is difficult to understand the full significance of this phrase and the answer thereto, unless it be inferred that De Laet was a Catholic priest (or, at least, in minor orders) or a Protestant minister. None of his biographers mentions either of these possibilities. The absence of any mention of him in either HURTER's *Nomenclator* or the *Catholic Encyclopedia* seems to indicate that De Laet was not in Catholic Orders, although the fact that he had a daughter does not necessarily preclude this possibility. It seems more likely, however, he was one of those Protestants, who charged Grotius with becoming a Catholic, after the latter had published his *Via et votum ad pacem ecclesiasticum* in 1642. "You must finally show your odium against the Church from which you have departed," says De Laet to Grotius. Now it is known that an Amsterdam minister, James Laurent, published his *Grotius papizans* in 1642 and that it was continually being announced from Paris that Grotius had "gone over" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. xi, p. 195*c*). It is also known that Joost van Den Vondel, the celebrated Netherland poet and friend of Grotius, openly joined the Catholic Church in 1641 (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xv, p. 507*d*). It seems proper to conclude, therefore, that De Laet was a Protestant minister. This interpretation may account for FOPPENS' statement that De Laet wore a beard like the Capuchins in order to effect greater authority and also to Grotius' charge that De Laet was an envious detractor, whom a heavy beard made good. However, the evidence at hand is not conclusive.

imprudently in those notes (a thing which, nevertheless, you have not shown). Moreover, it was not sufficient that you raged against me in all your writing; you must finally show your odium against the Church from which you have departed. This is not the place to speak of this subject, nor do I claim that such diverse matters ought to be commingled. But in order that it may be clear that my notes on your first dissertation were correct, I shall briefly repeat here, in place of a conclusion, the points which have been controverted between us.

First, I denied that there was any reason why the division of the migration of the peoples to America should be determined at the Isthmus of Panama; for nothing prevented the peoples on one side from going back and forth to the other without hindrance. Here you only take exception by saying that there were mountains and narrows; which, even if it were so (a thing which, nevertheless, I deny), yet cannot prevent the going back and forth of the men on both sides.

Then you said by way of a new opinion: "I think that almost all the peoples, who are on this side of the Isthmus of Panama, originated from Norway." I showed by many arguments, not even one of which have you refuted in this second dissertation, that this was less probable, since the Mexicans (of whom you wished this especially to be believed) had come to the Mexican Lake before the Norwegians could have moved from Greenland; nay even that they had found at the Lake and in more remote regions other nations and of different origin, who had dwelled there many years before. Therefore, it is indeed clear enough that not only not "almost all the peoples, who are this side the Isthmus of Panama," but not even those whom you especially intended, the Mexicans, Chichimecs, Otomis, and others, originated from Norway.

Thereupon, you gave only this response: "Since it is agreed between us that the Greenlanders originated from Norway, at least a part of North America is considered to have been cultivated by Norwegians; and because Herrera writes that those who live next to the Bacallaos are like the Lapps in worship and other respects, even on this score it is probable." But look you, I beg, whether with these words of yours that saying of Horace does not properly square: "Amphora coepit institui" or "Parturiunt montes," etc. For when the reader was expecting something grand and unknown in previous centuries, such as in truth would be the showing of the origin of so many peoples, which inhabit the northern part of America, now at length recourse is had to the claim that the Greenlanders and the Bacallaos originated from the Norwegians and the Lapps.

Thirdly, you asserted that those who occupied Yucatan and certain neighboring places were of a different origin, namely, that they were carried thither from Ethiopia by the tossing of the ocean, "which could easily have happened to some fishermen borne away from their own shores, then snatched away by those fierce winds, which blow straight towards America," etc., and then you intended the origin to be from the

Abyssinians. To this I gave a lengthy reply, which would take too long to repeat here, but especially that the Empire of the Abyssinians never did extend to the ocean. You reply that it extended to the Congo Kingdom, which neither is true, nor, if it were, would it follow therefrom that the Empire of the Abyssinians extended to the ocean. But to make you believe the more that that Empire never extended to the ocean, I shall add here two passages from the first book of the *De Abyssinorum Rebus* of Father Nicholas Godingius, S.J.

Here De Laet quotes the passages in full and then continues:

Fourthly, there was the question about the Peruvians, whom you claimed originated from the Chinese; but this I showed to be least credible of all on account of the length and difficulty of navigation, and many other reasons. And in order that you might among other things prove the similarity of customs or at least equal industry, you alleged that the Peruvians wrote in the same way as the Chinese, that the Peruvians wrote not by means of letters, but by signs of things, and this from the top of the chart to the bottom as among the Chinese. I noted that the Peruvians had neither characters or writing nor characters after the manner of the Chinese. How little to the point you replied to this, the impartial reader shall judge.

Why more? If everything were believed which you alleged in this second dissertation, you have brought forward nothing which upsets my former *Notae*, but on the contrary you have heaped up still more fresh errors. But I make an end and pray for you a better mind and greater modesty.

So ended the controversy between Grotius and De Laet, but its echoes continued to be heard for some years after. In fact, at least two works on the same subject appeared in that same year (1644), that of Jean Baptiste Poisson at Paris[51] and that of Robert Comte at Amsterdam.[52] The latter was an academic dissertation adopting the Phoenician view, but its author was not sufficiently

[51] *Joannis Baptistae Poissoni Animadversiones ad ea quae Hugo Grotius et Johannes Laetius de Origine Gentium Peruvianarum et Mexicanarum scripserunt* (Paris, 1644). The title is given in WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 370, n. 4; and NICÉRON, pp. 344–345.

[52] *Roberti Comtaei Nortmanni De Origine Gentium Americanarum Dissertatio* (Amstelodami, Typis Nicolai Ravesteinii, 1644). This is a work of 41 duodecimo pages and there is a copy in the Library of Congress. There are two folios (4 pp.) between the title-page and page 3, which contain a letter addressed by Nicolaus Herouart, Rothomagensis, to Johannes Six, Godefridus Wuytiers, Franciscus Reael, and Constantinus Sohiers, dated at Amsterdam, April 12, 1644. The work is listed in NICÉRON, p. 345; and WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 370, n. 4. HORN (pp. 18–19) says that Comtaeus intended to write a work weighing the arguments of Grotius and De Laet, but his untimely death prevented him.

acquainted with those aids which are so necessary for a work of this character.[53] De Laet himself, although he took no further personal part in the controversy, incited another to take part, and so Georg Horn, "ordinary professor of History and Civil Government in the illustrious Academy of the Gelderlanders," took up the question in a rather lengthy dissertation in 1652.[54] In his Preface, Horn says: "This little work on the origins of the Americans, which you see now after some years, I wrote at the instigation especially of Johan De Laet, after he refuted the new opinions of Hugo Grotius. From that time it has lain cast aside among my papers, since, engaged partly by a journey to England, partly by other hindrances, I had put aside all desire of publishing it." Finding time afterwards, Horn determined to publish it unchanged just as he would have published it when it was written. Horn's aim as he himself states, is "to write American history from the very origin of the race to the arrival of Europeans in America."[55] His description of America is quite complimentary. "America," he says,[56] "the fairest of lands, with vast expanses toward both Oceans, lies midway between the East and the West, and, being fertile for all kinds of fruits, exults here and there in joyful verdure." It would be impracticable here to follow his lengthy arguments point for point. Suffice it to say that his view was the Scythian one, but he held to later additions from the Phoenicians and Carthaginians on the Atlantic side and from the Chinese on the Pacific.[57]

The knowledge that these writers of the seventeenth century possessed and the evidence that they adduced seem all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that "the question of the origin of the Indians is as yet a matter of conjecture. Affinities with Asiatic groups have been observed on the northwestern

---

[53] HORN, preface, p. 3.

[54] See title below, in Bibliography. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. A second edition appeared at Hemipolis (Halberstadt) in 1669. This edition did not contain a complimentary poem of three pages by Johannes Witten which appeared in the first edition after the preface. See also WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 370; and NICÉRON, p. 345.

[55] HORN, p. 1.

[56] HORN, p. 2.

[57] WINSOR, Vol. i, p. 370.

and western coast of North America, and certain similarities between the Peruvian-coast Indians and Polynesian tribes seem striking, but decisive evidence is still wanting." In these words Bandelier[58] sums up the state of affairs today, but in these words also De Laet might have summed up his own opinions on the same subject over two hundred and fifty years ago.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[Works not included in this list are cited in the text by their full titles.]

Bibliotheca Hulthemiana, Gand, Vol. iii (1836), Vol. iv (1836), Vol. v (1837).

Jacques Charles Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, Paris, Vol. i (1860), Vol. iii (1862), Vol. iv (1863); Supplement, Vol. i (1878).

Joannes Franciscus Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica, sive Virorum in Belgia Vita, Scriptisque illustrium catalogus, librorumque nomenclatura*, Tomus ii, Bruxellis, 1739.

Georg Horn, *De Originibus Americanis Libri Quatuor*, Hagae Comitis (*i. e.*, The Hague), 1652.

Eugéne Hubert, *Jean de Laet*, in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Tome xxi, Paris, n. d.

Joannis de Laet Antwerpiani *Notae ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii* De Origine Gentium Americanarum: *et Observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimae illius Quaestionis*, Amstelodami, Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1643.

Joannis de Laet Antwerpiani *Responsio ad Dissertationem Secundam Hugonis* De Origine Gentium Americanarum, *cum indice ad utrumque libellum*, Amstelrodami [*sic*], Apud Ludovicum Elsevirium, 1644. Bound with the preceding work.

Jean-Pierre Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres, avec un catalogue raisonné de leurs ouvrages*, Paris, Tome xxxviii (1737).

E. G., *Iean Laet*, in *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, Tome xxvii (1861).

Burchard Gotthelf Struve, *Bibliotheca Iuris Sleecta . . . emendavit et copiose locupletavit Christianus Gottlieb Buder*, Editio Septima, Ienae, 1743.

Justin Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, Vol. i (1889), Vol. ii (1886). Vol. iii (1884), Vol. iv (1884).

Herbert F. Wright, Ph.D.,
Catholic University,
Washington, D. C.

---

[58] Ad. F. Bandelier, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. i (New York, 1907), p. 411*d*, s. v. *America*.

THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND CARDINAL BELLARMINE

The object of this essay is to discover what was the immediate source of that part of the Declaration of Rights of Virginia and of the Declaration of Independence which proclaimed the natural equality of man and that the right of governing is derived from the people. These two pronouncements have had tremendous consequences, for the theory of the American State rests upon them, and they have come to be the foundation stone of government in nearly all the nations of the modern world.

In framing the Virginia Declaration the English Bill of Rights was the natural model, because of the resemblance of the events immediately preceding the birth of the one document to those which preceded the birth of the other. The English parliament which in 1689 declared that James II had forfeited the crown, and which prescribed the conditions upon which William of Orange was accepted as King, was the prototype of the Virginia Convention which put George III off the American throne, and proclaimed the principles upon which a new government must be founded to be acceptable. In its contents, however, the Virginia document followed the English model only in its less important features, and even in these the resemblance is but partial. The first three Virginia paragraphs saying that all men are by nature equally free and independent; that all power belongs to the people; that government is instituted for the common benefit, and that when it fails to confer common benefit a majority of the people have a right to change it—these fundamental principles are not in the English Bill at all. Thus, the Virginians used the English model in no spirit of agreement or imitation, for they ignored its most important provisions and went far beyond its most radical intentions.

The study of government has always been a favorite occupation of higher minds, and the discussion of the problem of how far men may enjoy their freedom and submit to government, what are their rights and duties, and what are the rights and

duties of those who govern them are as old as mankind itself. In 1776 men were discussing these things and also the theory of government itself. Some of them had decided that it was a contract between the governed and the governors; others believed all power belonged to the people; others were content to trace its origin to the family relation, and others thought that rulers derived their right to rule from the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. In the beginning of the settlement of America these questions were not of practical importance, for pioneers in a wilderness had only problems of personal government to deal with. Questions of liberty did not obtrude themselves upon men who could go at will through a boundless country and make their homes wherever they pleased. The Jamestown court book, which begins in 1622 and is the earliest government record of the English occupation, shows this, for the chief function of the government was to punish small offences against law and order, and wrongs committed by one man against another. A hundred years later, however, governmental conditions had become more complex, the country having passed the earliest pioneer stage, having increased greatly in population and having become valuable to the nation which owned it. When that nation began to restrain its American subjects, to exercise authority over them and to tax them, neglected theories of government were revived and they began to study them with a practical object in view. They felt that they were ill-used, and read and discussed so as to give form to their grievances.

Ready at hand was the classic literature of Athens and Rome which all educated men knew fairly well. The civilization of those states was understood and entered into the daily thought of the time. When the Americans came to create governments of their own they adapted to their use some of the institutions and nomenclature of the classical period. It would be beyond the scope of this article, however, to try to find the classical spring of the thoughts which were in the mind of George Mason when he wrote the Declaration of Rights and of Thomas Jefferson when he wrote the Declaration of Independence, nor is it necessary to do so, for their immediate inspiration came from more modern sources.

Several authors must be cleared from the field before we

examine those who really participated in forming the doctrines under consideration. Montesquieu, Rousseau and James Berg, whose names are often connected with them, really did not influence them. *The Spirit of the Laws* was studied in America, but it did not present the theory of government in the way the Revolutionists were seeking to present it. It was an analysis of the various forms of government; they were seeking for a statement of the basis of the form they were determined to have.

Rousseau's writings were less widely known than Montesquieu's. It is probable that Jefferson knew them, because his mental appetite was omnivorous; but George Mason did not know French and there is no reason to suppose that he ever read the *Contrat Social* or the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*. Rousseau's writings had not obtained currency in Virginia in 1776.

James Berg wrote seventy-five years after Montesquieu. His book, *Political Disquisitions, or An Enquiry into public Errors, Defects, and Abuses of the British Government*, appeared only in part in 1775, rather too late to have rendered service in May, 1776, even if it had discussed general principles which it did not do. Berg denounced the evils which had arisen in England, in the hope of "restoring the constitution and saving the state." He defended the colonies in their controversy with the parent country. The American edition of his book was published in Philadelphia under the encouragement of a number of prominent Americans, many of them members of the Continental Congress, among them George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson praised the book, but it did not help him when he drew up the Declaration of Independence.

To go on to those who had a somewhat closer relationship to the Declaration, who were in fact the natural precursors of those who had a real influence in forming it, we come upon Thomas Hobbes and Richard Hooker, who paved the way which Algernon Sidney and John Locke walked with so much confidence many years later. A hundred years before Rousseau, Hobbes expounded Rousseau's doctrine of government. Hobbes' chief book, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*, was published in London in 1651.

It was a scientific discussion of the natural man and the artificial aggregation of men (the Leviathan) called the Commonwealth. He defined a commonwealth thus:

> A commonwealth is said to be instituted, when a multitude of men do agree, and covenant, every one, that to whatsoever man or assembly of men shall be given by the major part, the right to present the person of them all (that is to say, to be their representative): Every one, as well he that voted for it, as he that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgments of that man or assembly of men in the same manner, as if they were his own, to the end, to live peaceably amongst themselves, and be protected against other men.
>
> From this institution of a commonwealth are derived all the rights and faculties of him or them on whom sovereign power is conferred by the consent of the people assembled.[1]

He argued against the right of rebellion because it broke the covenant made by the subject with the sovereign.

The *Treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker was published in 1594–1597. He said:

> The lawful Power of making laws to command whole Political Societies of men, belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any Prince or Potentate of what kind soever upon Earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express Commission immediately and Personally received from God, or else by authority derived the first from their Consent upon whose Persons they impose Laws; it is no better than meer Tyranny. Laws they are not therefore which Public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only give, who personally declare their assent by voyce, signe, or act, but also when others do it in their names by right originally at least derived from them.[2]

Under the hands of Algernon Sidney and John Locke this doctrine was advanced to a system of popular government; and those two writers must now be brought to the reader's particular attention, for they received a great deal of attention from the fathers of the republic. It cannot be said that they are now wholly forgotten. They are alluded to, however, oftener than they are read, and no apology is needed for quoting from them to a modern reader.

Algernon Sidney was a hero to the Americans of 1776. His romantic life and tragic death held the public attention, and his

[1] *Leviathan*, Edition of 1651, p. 88.

[2] *The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*. Book 1, Sec. 9, p. 28, Edition of 1622.

writings were eagerly read. It was nearly a hundred years since he had been beheaded for asserting the right of the people to govern, but the interest in him was still fresh. A new edition of the account of his trial and of his disquisition on government had appeared in 1763, only thirteen years before the American revolt. Sidney had been charged, among other things, with having written seditious libels, the worst being, as the arraignment recited, the following:

> The power originally in the people of England is delegated unto the parliament. He (the most serene lord, Charles II now King of England meaning) is subject unto the law of God, as he is a man; to the people that makes him a king inasmuch as he is a king: the law sets a measure unto that subjection, and the parliament judges of the particular cases thereupon arising. He must be content to submit his interest unto theirs, since he is no more than any one of them in any other respect than that he is, by the consent of all, raised above any other. If he doth not like this condition, he may renounce the crown; but if he receives it upon that condition (as all majestrates do the power they receive) and swear to perform it, he must expect that the performance will be exacted, or revenge taken by those that he hath betrayed.[3]

At the trial the Government showed that when Sidney was arrested, a treatise alleged to be in his handwriting was found in his study, which was designed to persuade the people of England "that it is lawful, nay that they have a right to set aside their prince, in case it appear to them that he hath broken the trust laid upon him by the people." "Then he falls to reasoning," said the attorney general, "and uses great reasoning in the case, that all the power of the prince is originally in the people; and applies that discourse, that the power of the king was derived from the people, upon trust; and they had already declared the king had invaded their rights, and therefore he comes to argue, that they might resume that original power they had conferred."[4]

Sidney insisted that the Government had not proved that the writings produced were his. "But," he added, "my lord, it isa polemical discourse; it seems to be an answer to Filmer, which is not calculated for any particular government in the world; it (Filmer's book) goes only upon these general principles, that

---

[3] Page 108 of the supplement to the Edition of 1763.

[4] *Id.*, pp. 115, 116.

according to the universal law of God and nature there is but one government in the world, and that is entire and absolute."[5]

The trial was dramatic and the Lord Chief Justice, Jeffries, who presided, was at his worst. The jury was packed, Sidney was refused a copy of his indictment, and overt acts were accepted as proved by the testimony of one perjured witness. The Chief Justice interrupted Sidney when he attempted to speak in his own behalf and showed a savage determination to kill him. When he sentenced him, Sidney uttered a short prayer that his country might not suffer in atonement for his blood, but, if he must be avenged, that the weight of punishment might fall upon those who had maliciously prosecuted him for righteousness' sake. To this, the Chief Justice replied:

> I pray God work in you a temper fit to go into the other world, for I see you are not fit for this.

And Sidney said:

> My lord, feel my pulse (holding out his hand), and see if I am disordered. I bless God, I never was in better temper, than I am now.[6]

He was executed on December 7, 1683. That day he gave to the Sheriffs a paper in which he recounted the unfairness of his trial and said of the writings used against him:

> They plainly appear to relate to a large treatise written long since in answer to Filmer's book, which by all intelligent men is thought to be grounded in wicked principles, equally pernicious to magistrates and people."

He gave the scope of the treatise:

> . . . And I am persuaded to believe that God had left nations to the liberty of setting up such governments as best pleases themselves.
>
> That magistrates were set up for the good of nations, not nations for the honour and glory of magistrates.
>
> That those laws were to be observed, and the oaths taken by them, having the force of a contract between magistrates and people, could not be violated without danger of dissolving the whole fabric.
>
> That usurpation could give no right; and the most dangerous of all enemies to Kings were they, who raising their power to an exorbitant height, allowed to usurpers all the rights belonging to it.[7]

Bishop Burnet said of Sidney: "He had studied the history

---

[5] *Id.*, pp. 134, 135.
[6] *Id.*, 168.
[7] *Id.*, pp. 37, 38, of the *Memoirs*.

of government in all its branches, beyond any man I ever knew." The author of the memoir which preceded his Discourses on Government said: "In short, it is one of the noblest books that ever the mind of man produced; and we cannot wish a greater or more extensive blessing to the world, than than it may be everywhere read, and its principles universally received and propagated."

The copy of this noble book which Thomas Jefferson used lies before me—a handsome folio, 497 pages of the Discourses, 198 pages of Sidney's letters and the account of this trial, the whole prefaced by 46 pages of the Memoir. This was the edition of 1763, edited by Thomas Hollis, known in England as "the Republican," the great-nephew of Thomas Hollis, the benefactor of Harvard college. The first edition of the book had appeared in 1698. Americans liked to connect Sidney with themselves. They believed (probably erroneously) that he had assisted William Penn in drawing up the enlightened form of government which Penn had given to Pennsylvania in 1682. Children were called Algernon Sidney, newspaper writers used the name as a pen name, gentlemen called their country places Sidney. For many years after the Revolution there still survived evidence of the deep impression he had made upon the American mind. There was an American edition of his Discourses published in Philadelphia as late as 1804. A copy of the book was in every large library in 1776; every reading man had read it in part or in whole. The opening sentence of the Discourses ran:

> Having lately seen a book, entitled "Patriarcha," written by Sir Robert Filmer, concerning the universal and undistinguished right of all kings, I thought a time of leisure might well be employed in examining his doctrine, and the questions arising from it: which seem so far to concern all mankind, that besides the influence upon our future life, they may be said to comprehend all that in this world deserves to be cared for.

In *Patriarcha* there was a quotation from the Cardinal Bellarmine to the effect that men were created equal, upon which Sidney remarked of Filmer:

"He absurdly imputes to the school divines that which was taken up by them as a common notion, written in the heart of every man, denied by none, but such as were degenerated into

beasts." And again: "Though the schoolmen were corrupt, they were neither stupid nor unlearned; they could not but see that which all men said, nor lay more approved foundations, than that man is naturally free; that he cannot justly be deprived of that liberty without cause;" etc. Of governments: "Those only can be called just which are established by the consent of nations."[8] Of democracy: "And of all governments, democracy, in which every man's liberty is least restrained because every man hath an equal part, would certainly prove to be the most just, rational and natural."[9] At the same time he insisted that a democracy never had existed and was not possible except for a small town. He advocated a popular mixed government. Of popular right over government he said: "We say in general 'He that institutes, may also abrogate;' most especially when the institution is not only by but for himself. If the multitude therefore do institute the multitude may abrogate; and they themselves, or those who succeed in the same right, can only be fit judges of the performance of the ends of the institution."[10]

There is much discussion of the Old Testament and the support which Filmer sought to derive from it for his theory that government comes from the power of the fathers over the children.

Following after Sidney and as widely read, although not so popular nor so interesting, was John Locke. His essays were in all libraries, but they derived no contributing interest from his personal career. When his *Two Treatises on Government* appeared in 1690 he incurred no danger from their publication, for the Revolution of 1688 had put a king on the throne who derived his right to rule from the consent of the multitude. Locke's doctrines were as acceptable to William of Orange as Filmer's would have been to James I or as they were to Charles I. Like Sidney, Locke wrote in reply to Filmer. He described his two treatises thus:

"In the former the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown: the latter is an essay concerning the true origin, extent and end

[8] Page 155.
[9] Page 152.
[10] Page 15.

of civil government." He says of Filmer: "His system lies in a little compass, it is no more but this:

" 'That all government is absolute monarchy.'

"And the ground he builds on is this, 'That no man is born free.'"[11]

A few extracts will show Locke's philosophy:

> To understand political power right, and derive it from its origin, we must consider what state all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.
>
> A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident, than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection: unless the lord and master of them all should by any manifest declaration of his will, set one above another, and confer on him, by an evident and clear appointment, an undoubted right to dominion and sovereignity.' "[12]
>
> Men being, as has been said, by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent.[13]

These aphorisms he repeated often and made the basis of his essay.

Now let us see who was this Filmer of whom Sidney and Locke had so much to say, Sidney's reply to him having brought his head to the block. In his day he was popular and had many readers and followers. He preached a simple creed—that Kings rule by divine right and that the unthinking devotion and obedience of their subjects belongs to them by God's ordinance. Any man could understand that doctrine and many men had cheerfully laid down their lives in support of it. It was age old—as old as the opposing doctrine that all governing power comes from the multitude. Macaulay says that Filmer formed into a system the theories which became prominent under James I. Filmer's writings did, in fact, follow those of James. The King's *Defense*

---

[11] Works, edition of 1824, Vol. iv, p. 213.

[12] *Id.*, p. 340.

[13] *Id.*, p. 394.

of True Monarchie might well be a preface to *Patriarcha*. So may the King's treatise on witches, *Daemonology*, be read in connection with Filmer's "*Advertisement of the Jurymen of England touching Witches.*" There was still another point of resemblance between the two authors—both of them essayed to reply to the Cardinal Bellarmine, James in defense of the test oath which Catholics would not take, and Filmer in defense of the divine right of kings, a doctrine which Bellarmine denied.

Sir Robert Filmer, Bart., like Algernon Sidney, but in a less tragic degree, suffered persecution because of his opinions on government. During the civil wars in England he adhered to Charles I, and, it was said, had been imprisoned in 1644, while his house was plundered ten times.

A few of his writings appeared anonymously during his lifetime, but the most important of them was not published till 1680, twenty-seven years after his death. The full title was, *Patriarcha or the Natural Power of Kings, by the Learned Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet.* The argument was that the doctrine of the natural liberty of man was new, plausible and dangerous, that the royal authority began before the flood with the patriarchs from whom all kings were descended; that there was no example in Scripture of a people choosing its King; that popular government was more bloody than tyranny; that the king being appointed by God, his subjects could not judge nor correct him, as he was above human laws. He said: "It appears little less than a paradox which Bellarmine and others affirm of the freedom of the *multitude* to choose what rulers they please."

Filmer's contemporaries generally agreed with him. John Locke and Sidney sought to disprove his theories by examples and utterances taken from the source whence Filmer drew most of his support—the Bible. Filmer found the origin of government in the family and fatherhood; Hobbes and the rest found it in a contract between the governed and the governors, and here Filmer was right.

One of those whom Filmer answered was Philip Hunton. He had written a Treatise on Monarchy in 1643 in which he said: "God does not bind any people to this or that form of government till they by their own act bind themselves." Filmer declared that they never bound themselves. He said that the earliest gov-

ernments had been absolute monarchies, and he was right again.

Robert Francis Romulus Bellarmine, to whom Filmer replied, was one of the most famous churchmen and statesmen of his day. He is still well known to Catholic clergymen, and to the Protestant clergy in a less degree, but to laymen his is not a familiar name. He was born at Montepulciano in 1542 and died in 1621. He was a Jesuit priest, teacher of the humanities at Florence and Mondovi, a professor and preacher at Louvain, where Protestants as well as Catholics went to hear him. He was consecrated a cardinal in 1599. In 1576 he began to issue his controversial writings. They made a sensation in England, and, as he was the champion of papacy, vindications of Protestantism often took the form of answers to him. His works crossed the Atlantic. There was a copy in the library at Princeton where James Madison, a member of the Committee which framed the Virginia Declaration of Rights, had graduated. Probably he had read it, for at this period of his life he read everything he could lay his hands on, and was deeply versed in religious controversy.

There were copies of some of his books in Virginia. Old Protestant ministers remember that when they studied divinity at the Episcopal High School near Alexandria they heard Bellarmine quoted. Several members of the committee which drew up the Declaration of Rights had been educated in England—Thomas Ludwell Lee probably, and John Blair certainly. It would have been difficult for them to escape some acquaintance with Bellarmine while they were studying in England. Eleven of the twenty-three members of the committee had gone to William and Mary College, where religious controversy raged. They, too, must have heard of the Italian controversialist from the answers which had been made to him. In 1722 there had been published in London a free translation by Thomas Foxton of Bellarmine's *Joys of the Blessed: Being a Practical Discourse Concerning the Eternal Happiness of the Saints in Heaven*. Bellarmine was not unpopular in England even among those who were most inimical to his faith.

It is Bellarmine's remarks on earthly government, however, not his writings on things celestial, that concern us here, and Filmer stated them fairly. Taking a number of the Cardinal's

aphorisms to be found here and there in his writings but chiefly in *De Potestate Pontificis* (see, for instance, Lil 1, Cap. vi, p. 257) he gives them thus on the fourth page of *Patriarcha*, and I reproduce his italics and capitals.

> To make evident the Grounds of this Question, about the *Natural Liberty of Mankind*, I will lay down some passages of Cardinal *Bellarmine*, that may best unfold the State of this controversie. *Secular or Civil Power* (saith he) *is instituted by men; It is in the people, unless they bestow it on a Prince. This Power is immediately in the whole Multitude, as in the subject of it; for this Power is in the Divine Law, but the Divine Law hath given this power to no particular man. If the Positive Law be taken away, there is left no Reason why amongst a Multitude (who are Equal) one rather than another should bear Rule over the Rest. Power is given by the multitude to one man, or to more, by the same Law of Nature; for the Commonwealth cannot exercise this Power, therefore it is bound to bestow it upon some One man or some Few. It depends upon the Consent of the multitude to ordain over themselves a King Counsel or other Magistrates; and if there be a lawful cause the multitude may change the Kingdom into an Aristocracy or* Democracy. Thus far *Bellarmine;* in which passages are comprised the strength of all that I have read or heard produced for the *Natural Liberty of the Subject.*

But Bellarmine's doctrine was epitomized by Filmer on the opening page of Patriarcha. The first sentence of the book reads:

> Since the time that School-Divinity began to flourish there hath been a common opinion maintained, as well by Divines, as by divers other Learned Men, which affirms.
>
> *Mankind is naturally endowed and born with Freedom from all Subjection, and at liberty to choose what Form of Government it please: And that the Power which any one Man hath over others, was at first bestowed according to the descretion of the Multitude.*
>
> This Tenet was first hatched in the Schools, and hath been fostered by all succeeding Papists for good Divinity. The Divines also of the Reformed Churches have entertained it, and the Common People everywhere tenderly embrace it, as being most plausible to Flesh and Blood, for that it prodigally distributes a Portion of Liberty to the meanest of the Multitude who magnifie Liberty, as if the height of Human Felicity were only to be found in it, never remembering that the desire of Liberty was the first cause of the Fall of Adam."

Filmer was better known to laymen in America than Bellarmine was. Students of government like George Mason and Thomas Jefferson could not have missed him. There was his name staring at them in the opening sentences of Sidney and Locke and scattered through the later pages. Mason and

Jefferson must have had the curiosity to look into the author whom their favorites abused so lustily and so continuously. Unhappily, the catalogue of Mason's library has not survived, but Jefferson's books are still kept together in the Library of Congress and among them is *Patriarcha*. I find it also in inventories of other libraries in Virginia, of the revolutionary period. Yet nothing which Filmer wrote himself had any influence upon Mason and Jefferson. He was a dead author and his doctrine had no interest for men who were convinced of the equal rights of men; but the quotation he gave from Bellarmine and his epitome of Bellarmine's doctrine seems to have lodged in their memory, to reappear in a new form in the Declarations which they wrote. Neither in Sidney nor in Locke nor in the writings of any other author with whom they were familiar is there as complete an epitome of the doctrine they announced.

Soon after the committee met to frame the Virginia Declaration of Right, George Mason wrote out ten paragraphs of the Declaration and presented it to his colleagues. They added three more and the whole was handed in to the Convention where it underwent unimportant minor alterations, except as to the clause relating to religious liberty, which the Convention changed by making it a declaration for religious liberty instead of religious toleration. The first four paragraphs of Mason's committee draft are as follows:

> A Declaration of Rights, made by the Representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full Convention, and recommended to posterity as the Basis and Foundation of their Government.
>
> That all men are born equally free and independent and have certain inherent natural Rights, of which they cannot, by any Compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety.
>
> That Power is, by God and nature, vested in, and consequently derived from the People; that Magistrates are their Trustees and Servants, and at all times amenable to them.
>
> That Government is, or ought to be instituted for the common Benefit and Security of the People, nation, or Community. Of all the various modes and Forms of Government that is best, which is Capable of producing the greatest Degree of Happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the Danger of Mal-administration. And that whenever any Government shall be found inadequate, or contrary to these purposes, a Majority of the Community hath an indubitable,

inalienable and indefeasible Right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.[14]

These clauses came from the Convention in the following form (italics marking the variations):

A declaration of rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full *and free* convention; *which rights do pertain to them* and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of government.

Sec. 1. "That all men are *by nature* equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, *when they enter into a state of Society*, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; *namely*, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

Sec. 2. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

Sec. 3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, *protection*, and security of the people, nation or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the Danger of mal-administration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter and abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

And the Declaration of Independence says:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness.

Were Mason and Jefferson conscious of their debt to Bellarmine, or did they use Filmer's presentation of his doctrine without knowing that they were doing so? Did the Americans realize that they were staking their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor in support of a theory of government which had come down to them as announced by a Catholic priest? We cannot answer these questions, but it should be a satisfaction to Catholics to know that the fundamental pronouncements upon which was built the greatest of modern revolutions, found their best support in the writings of a Prince of the Church.

GAILLARD HUNT,
Washington, D. C.

[14] Mason Papers, Library of Congress.

THE CHURCH IN SPANISH AMERICAN HISTORY

The three centuries of Spanish colonial history in America produced many new institutions and profoundly affected the character of many more which had been brought over from the Old World. One question almost immediately arises in the mind of the student who begins an inquiry into the organization of this great colonial empire. What effect did it have upon, and how was it affected by the Church? Here was the institution which had defended, represented, and typified the medieval civilization of the Old World. What was to be its reaction upon the New? What part was it to have in this enterprise, the greatest of its kind that men had ever undertaken? And what, in turn, was to be the effect of the whole heroic episode upon the Church itself?

To most readers the mention of the Church in colonial Spanish America summons up a composite of grim Inquisitors, of wandering, picturesque, but unimportant missionaries, and of fortune hunting ecclesiastics. These various types have been repeatedly described and discussed, and their various aspects need not be again reviewed here. The contentious subject of the Inquisition has called forth turgid debates, acrimonious wrangles, and some sound scholarly investigation. The romantic tales of intrepid missionary explorations have been often retold, though they never lose interest in the retelling. There are, however, some other aspects of the work of the Church in Spanish America which are worthy of attention.

The imposing task of colonizing and civilizing the vast area which we now know as Latin America, was undertaken and largely accomplished through the enthusiastic ardour and passion of the two Iberian nations, Spain and Portugal. It may well be doubted whether any people has ever assumed so large and perplexing an undertaking. The steady westward march of Aryan civilization out of the dim obscurity of central Asia had moved by successive stages from sea to sea—the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Aegean, the Mediterranean, the North, and

then the great plunge across the unknown waste of the western ocean. The motive forces which made possible this last leap had originated very largely, in fact almost entirely, in the two Afro-European peoples of the southwestern peninsula. It is true that the Cabots and Cartier carried the English and French colors across the North Atlantic during this epic period of the discoveries, but their bold explorations were, after all, but isolated, spasmodic outbursts whose achievements were to be neglected, almost forgotten, for decades, even generations.

To Spain and Portugal, on the other hand, the astonishing revelation of Columbus meant something far different, far more pretentious, than merely the opportunity to indulge in maritime expeditions across unknown seas. Two motives, two profound emotions or passions, seem to have been the moving factors behind the steady stream of crowded ships which swung down to the southwest with the Canaries Current, across to the mysterious islands of the Caribbean, the still more mysterious "Tierra Firme" to the south and the wonderlands to the west. These two motives were first, the search for adventure and fortune—it was as difficult to distinguish between these two in those days as it was much later in the days of '49 and of the Klondike; and second—though by no means secondary—the desire to spread the Christian faith. It is the latter of these two motives which interests us here, not so much because of its prominence during the dawning decades of American history, as because of its power and vital influence upon the subsequent character and tendency of civilization in so large a part of the western hemisphere.

Both of these characteristics found their origins in the same cause, a cause, in fact, which influenced profoundly, if it did not actually produce, a large part of what came to be Hispanic civilization, namely the wars of the reconquest against the Moors. For nearly eight hundred years. Christian Spain had waged an intermittent crusade against the Moslem invaders. For Spain the crusade was not a romantic episode of the far off Holy Land; it had been an earnest struggle, an ever present reality, which in the course of centuries came to be a part of the inmost being of every Spaniard. Each one felt himself to be a "Caballero"—a Knight—a real Defender of the Faith, ever ready to answer the rallying cry of his patron St. James. Many,

it is true, loved the fighting for its own sake, and became, like the immortal Cid, warrior mercenaries of an exalted type. The crusading spirit was ever recurrent, however, and reached its full flower in the golden age of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The very year which saw the cross raised up over the battlements of the Alhambra, and Boabdil, the last Moorish chieftain, driven across the Strait to Africa, saw also a new land revealed beyond the western sea. Furthermore, this was a region which, for nearly two decades after its discovery, was supposed to be a part of Asia, the home of unbelievers and especially of the same Islam which had just been humiliated by the great Christian triumph in Spain. It will be recalled that Columbus and his immediate successors thought that they had found India or some adjoining lands where the old conflict between cross and crescent would soon be renewed. In the first landing party sent into Cuba by Columbus was a learned scholar who knew Arabic, Hebrew, and other Asiatic tongues useful for intercourse with people of advanced culture like the Moslems of medieval Spain. It was believed, then, that a religious work confronted Spain in the New World—a task of the same nature as that which had just been terminated on the peninsula, one that required the same military ardour, the same devotion to the propagation of the faith.

It is true that many of the expeditions of the conquistadors frequently took on the character of fortune hunts with precious metals or slaves as their objectives. Nevertheless, the missionaries accompanied every party, the clergy participated actively in the work of founding nearly every colony or settlement, and frequently were the leaders of important expeditions and exploring enterprises. We recall at once, for example, the names of Fray Marcos, Father Kino, and Father Serra, three random illustrations from three successive centuries of our own Spanish southwestern history. Other names might readily be added, for the annals of the Church in Spanish America are bright with the achievements of many leaders. In this respect they typify the history of Spain's colonial empire, which was largely the record of men, not of companies, especially during its crucial first century. There was no Spanish counterpart of the famous East India Company, Massachusetts Bay Company, or

Virginia Company. The Spaniard was too intensely individualistic; his ancient traits of local pride and separatism were too strong, too fiery, to brook the restraining hand of some nicely balanced company organization. When, in the eighteenth century, Spain did venture upon experiments with such a device she failed miserably. The traditions—warlike and sacred—of the Moorish crusades made each soldier a conqueror, each cleric a propagandist in his own right.

When the laws of the Indies came to be codified in the famous "Recopilación," the first topic to be taken up was the part played by the Church in the great work of educating the Indians. The close cooperation of the Church and State in this work is clearly demonstrated by the unification of civil and ecclesiastical law in this all-inclusive, common code.

This association of the Church with the affairs of colonial Spanish America appears at the very beginning of its history. By the Bull of Demarcation of 1493 the Pope had "given, conceded and assigned" the newly discovered lands to the crowns of Spain and Portugal to be administered, civilized, and brought into the fold of the Church. The papal Bull of December 16, 1501, granted to the Spanish sovereigns in perpetuity all tithes collected in the Indies, upon the understanding that the civil exchequer should bear all the burdens of maintaining priests and friars, churches and missions. The work of the propaganda was thus assigned to the temporal rulers who were to appoint, maintain, and supervise those entrusted with the conversion of the natives. When the crown granted tracts of land and services of Indians to conquistadores, as rewards for their achievements, such grants were always given with the proviso that the recipient or "encomendero" was thereby entrusted (encomendado) with the welfare, spiritual as well as temporal, of the natives. He was to see to it that they became true children of the Church.

This insistence upon the religious training of the natives is illustrative of the ever present conviction of the Church, that its first duty lay in this field. First and foremost came the great work of Las Casas, "Apostle of the Indians," who travelled, preached, and labored unceasingly for five decades (1513–1566), on behalf of the "children of the forest." From northern Mexico to Paraguay the Jesuits brought the fruits of their exceptional

abilities and training into the remote Indian villages. The causes of their expulsion in 1767 have been repeatedly debated, defended, and refuted. We shall return to the subject later, but this much can be said here with assurance: that when the orders for the expulsion were finally carried out, the natives were the ones who suffered; and their appreciation of that fact was shown by the revolts which broke out in various parts of New Spain (Mexico), and by the disorder and confusion which took place in Paraguay, as the Indians forsook their mission homes and wandered back to the wild life of the forest.

Many volumes have been written upon the Jesuit missions in Paraguay as an extreme type of the work of the Church in colonial times. The "socialistic" or "paternalistic" nature of their administration, and the evils which resulted from the consequent sapping of the native spirit of initiative and independence among the Indians have been frequently and vehemently denounced. It has been alleged that this highly organized system prepared the human material for the despotic tyranny of Dr. Francia (1814–1840), the arch-type of all Spanish American dictators. Two important factors, however, would seem to go far toward modifying, if not actually nullifying, this stereotyped criticism of the work of the Church in this part of colonial Spanish America.

Of the thirty-odd "reductions" or missions maintained in the Uruguay-Paraná-Paraguay basins by the Jesuits during the century and a half previous to their expulsion in 1767, only a third were within the region which came to be the Paraguay of Francia's time. Only four of the smaller and less important ones of the total number were located well within the zone of influence of the dictatorship which was later established in Asunción. Furthermore, the missions had been broken up and their population scattered for nearly two generations before Francia's power was fully established in Paraguay. It would seem likely, then, that whatever the effect of the Jesuit régime may have been, it had probably lost a large part of its force during the decades that followed the expulsion of 1767. If the Jesuit system is to be held responsible for those traits of tractability and docility among the natives, which explain to a large extent the success of Francia, then by far the larger part of that

dictator's power is left without explanation, since the descendants of the mission Indians occupied but a small part of his realm.

Much of the criticism which has of late been levelled at the colonial mission system arises from an insistence upon greater dispatch in the work. This would require that the aborigines be taken from the primitive environment of their natural state and be raised, within a few years or decades, to a level of comparative civilization, including the full privileges of participation in the functions of government. It is significant to observe that the more recent studies of such scholars as Starr and Bandelier to a large extent confirm the old mission policy. These and other anthropologists have endorsed the wisdom of recognizing many of the more fundamental customs among the native races of Latin America, notably the communal ownership of land. The much more gradual introduction to civilization which this theory, like the mission system, implies, is being urged as the only effective and lasting solution for such orgies of attempted reforms as have been prevalent in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America on various occasions. The ridiculous futility of such efforts to legislate suddenly into existence the complete social and economic reconstruction of aboriginal races scarcely requires proof. The inefficacy of such impractical reforms was effectively demonstrated in Mexico under Juarez, and seems likely to be more convincingly proved in the immediate future under far less able leadership.

If the success of the Indian policy of Spanish civil and ecclesiastical officials is to be interpreted in terms of the survival and perpetuation of the Indian peoples, the judgment upon that policy must, for the most part, be favorable. The war-like Charrúas of Uruguay and Tehuelches of Argentina have disappeared. But the prevalence of Araucanians, Aymaras, Quichuas, and Chibchas throughout the Andean countries of South America, and of the Mayas and other races of Central America and Mexico, goes far toward disproving the widespread tradition of Spanish savagery toward the natives. Curiously enough, this tradition had its origin in the tireless efforts of Las Casas to save the natives from the hardships which they were suffering at the ruthless hands of the first bands of exploiting fortune hunters and pioneers. The great preacher-liberator spread

broadcast his harrowing accounts of the brutality of his countrymen, and for generations, even centuries, after Las Casas' fervid spirit had departed, and the gruesome conditions which he described had been modified, the lurid accounts of Spanish "barbarity and bigotry" were circulated throughout Europe.

This was especially the case in the course of the religious wars of the seventeenth century when Spain's great maritime rivals, Protestant England and Holland, lost no opportunity to depict their tottering rival as an ogre of barbarous intolerance. The contemporary accounts of the first Puritan colonial enterprises in the West Indies—the Old Providence Co. of 1624-42, and Cromwell's expedition to Santo Domingo and Jamaica in 1654–55—show clearly the English conception of the Spaniard. He was but a medieval monster to whom the Indians meant nothing save so much dog-food, convenient objects for the oppressions of unscrupulous mine owners and profit-seeking missionaries.

One cannot help wondering at the persistence of this misconception even down into the recent decades of the nineteenth century. That there were many abuses cannot be denied, and that some of the more unscrupulous and isolated ecclesiastics openly condoned and even participated in these offenses is not to be doubted. It must be borne in mind, however, that the regions involved stretched over thousands of miles, with every conceivable obstacle—climatic and topographic—in the way of the careful administration of well intentioned codes and the strict supervision of higher officials, both civil and ecclesiastical. The natives were, furthermore, of every stage of human culture, from the primitive savages of Amazonian Peru to the intelligent upper classes of the Quichuas and Mayas. The problem was one of extraordinary complexity, and although the exaggerated paternalism of the Spanish Council of the Indies tried to enforce an all-pervasive Indian code of strictest uniformity, the actual work of administration had inevitably to be left to more or less independent local officers.

It was at just this point that the Church rendered its great service, especially through the medium of the religious orders. The chronicles of the intrepid work of these emissaries of Christianity and civilization form a monumental tribute to their

devotion and heroic endeavor. Nor was their labor one for religion alone. The services which many of these fearless pioneers—notably certain Jesuits—rendered to the sciences of geography, ethnology, and philology as a result of their labors among the Indians, is incalculable. Theirs was not a search for treasure. They were quite as ready—eager, in fact, because of the isolation thus afforded—to devote themselves to the task of civilizing and holding such regions as Paraguay for Spain, even though they yielded no gold or silver. As we shall soon see, it was largely due to the well trained native troops of the Jesuit missions, that northern Argentina and Paraguay were held for the Spanish crown against the inroads of the Portuguese slave-raiders, the aggressive, frequently lawless "Paulistas" of the São Paulo highlands of southern Brazil.

The attachment of the secular clergy, the local or parish priests, to their native charges was quite as marked as the zeal and devotion of the members of the great regular orders. Though less conspicuous, because of their continued isolation and lack of any periodic contact with the outside world, the work of these local representatives of the Church was of profound importance. There grew up between them and their Indian converts the strongest affection, the power and significance of which was to become manifest during the chaotic turmoil of the Wars of Independence.

Colonial Spanish America owed much to the Church, but in no respect is the indebtedness more profound and lasting than in education. Over a hundred years before the founding of Harvard, there was established in the Indian quarter of Mexico City by Zumárraga, first bishop of New Spain, the College of Santa Cruz, the first school for higher education in America. Shortly afterward, in 1538, the University of Santo Tomás de Aquino was founded in Santo Domingo. When the great work of conquest and colonization carried the centers of Spanish activity over to the mainland, the Church, under the personal patronage of the Emperor Charles V, undertook the establishment and maintenance of more advanced schools in the capitals of the two viceroyalties. The University of San Marcos, established in Lima in 1551, is today the oldest of American educational institutions, since the University of Santo Tomás has ceased to

exist. The University of Mexico City first opened its doors in 1553, and although they were closed during a large part of the nineteenth century, they were reopened in 1910 by one of the last important decrees of the late Porfirio Diaz.

Other universities appeared in the course of time, some of them founded in the more remote regions of the empire; for example, at Cordoba in northern Argentina (1613), and at the little town which became Sucre, in Upper Peru, now Bolivia (1623). Later still, others were founded: at Cuzco (Peru in 1692, Caracas (Venzuela) in 1721, Habana (Cuba) in 1728, Santiago (Chile) in 1743, and Quito (Ecuador) in 1787. These are only the more important among a score or more of larger institutions, all founded by the Church and directed by cleric-scholars from the historic old academic centers of Spain: Salamanca, Alcalá de Henares, Oviedo, and many others.

The first purpose of these colleges was "the education of the Indian youth"—the same object as that expressed in the charters of Harvard, Dartmouth, and other colleges of colonial New England. In many of the Spanish American institutions the Indian girls were by no means forgotten. The native languages and culture were studied, especially in those institutions which were under Jesuit control. Much of the knowledge that we now possess in this field has been preserved in the learned pages of Sahagun, Motolinia, Piedrahita, Acosta, Torquemada, Garcilaso de la Vega, Leon Pinelo, Duran, Sandoval, and scores of others. These scholars were either the products of Spanish American institutions or derived their inspirations from years of educational activity in the colonies; many of them were natives—creoles, mestizos, or full blooded Indians. Contrary to the usual belief, their works were not exclusively ecclesiastical, but displayed catholicity of genius and taste which speaks eloquently of the breadth and character of their training: histories, grammars, bibliographies, archaeological and anthropological studies, even medical and surgical treatises.

At the very beginning of this profoundly important work of the Church, came the introduction of another notable instrument of civilization, the printing press. This appeared in Mexico City probably in 1536, the year after the establishment of the first college, and, like that institution, the press owed its origin

to the energies of Zumárraga and the other zealous pioneers of the Church. Most of the earlier productions, such as "La Escala Espiritual," supposedly the first, though no known copy is extant today, were ecclesiastical in character. Numerous important linguistic and even medical works had, however, been printed by the presses of Mexico and Lima before the end of the sixteenth century.

In the introduction of printing, as in the founding of advanced educational institutions, Spanish America was a hundred years in advance of English America. This fact and the earlier achievements just mentioned must be carefully borne in mind, in order to judge fairly and as a whole the true value of the Spanish colonial régime. The deplorable decadence and pathetic weakness toward the close of the colonial period have, perhaps because of their chronological proximity, distorted the perspective of many writers.

Even in passing judgment upon these declining decades, we must remember that at least the intentions of the home government, as expressed in the various colonial laws, were above reproach. The enfeebled hand of the mother country was no longer able, however, to enforce her mandates. The spirit of by far the greater part of Spanish colonial legislation can stand comparison with similar codes of any nation and any time. Corrupt and inefficient administration, the ravages of her aggressive enemies, and the remoteness of her empire had weakened her hold. One institution, the Church, continued to wield most of its accustomed influence, in spite of the welter of political confusion, and of investigations, accusations, and expulsions. Its great landed possessions, which later became one of the most serious economic problems for the new republics, were, during the last years of the colonial period, among the few guarantees of stability and order. True, it was a stability of the past, a condition that stood for the old order, but the Church, through its responsibilities both for the land and for the aboriginal inhabitants who had so long been under its care, seems to have appreciated its guardianship. The bond between the clergy and the native converts had by no means disappeared. Its power was destined to become apparent in a most unexpected manner during the crucial struggles of the Revolutions.

It has been the usual practice to describe the conversion of the Indians and their subsequent relations with the mission and the Church as being purely formal—"a medieval cloak over a savage form." The readiness with which the Indians lapse into their native state is often cited as a proof of the superficiality of their Christianity. The actual value of the work of the Church was put to the severest test during the Revolution. Its survival of this test is explained largely by the fidelity of the Indians to their priests, and the important parts played in the struggle by the latter. The ultimate strength and continued growth of the Church in spite of the severity of the struggle and the apparent division within its ranks gives evidence of the depth of its roots in the society of Spanish America.

When Spain was swept into the maelstrom of the Napoleonic Wars and was temporarily engulfed in the flood of French revolutionary radicalism, there were heard the first fervent shouts for Spanish American independence. There had been murmurings and plots before this. The liberal doctrines of the North American patriots and the more radical theories of the French Revolution had been filtering into the colonial empire. Political and economic dissatisfaction was very largely the cause of the plans of Miranda and Bolivar in the north, and San Martin in the south. The religious aspect of these wars, however, is a phase which is all too frequently neglected. In Peru and especially in Argentina and Mexico, the first rallying cries, though prompted by the same cause, came from the local priests.

The famous "Grito de Dolores," the "rebel yell" of Mexico, was first heard from the lips of Hidalgo, the parish priest of Dolores, as he urged his little Indian congregation to save their country from the "gachupines," the Spanish political demagogues. He pleaded particularly that they stand for their religion which seemed to be doomed in the mother country as a result of the French invasion and intrigues. Morelos, patriot-priest like Hidalgo, carried on the banners of the Mexican patroness, the Virgin of Guadalupe, after the cleric of Dolores had fallen. It must, however, be added that both of these fathers of Mexican independence were already discredited and degraded from the priesthood before the revolt broke out and this fact prevents any association of the Church with their efforts. Nevertheless, to

their Indian congregations they were still the embodiment of religious authority, and from their status as spiritual leaders there followed easily the transformation to military and political domination. When Mexican independence was finally won under Iturbide in 1821, it was achieved largely as the result of the fear on the part of the Church authorities in Mexico of the radical liberalism which was then sweeping over Spain.

The secular priesthood was even more conspicuous in the revolution in South America than it was in Mexico; here too the parish clergy were to be found in the ranks and frequently among the officers of all of the patriot armies. The devotion of their native converts to them and to the message which they had preached, made these fighting clerics particularly desirable supporters of the cause of independence. Among the indispensable members of the staff of San Martín, the great Argentine liberator, was a group of priests and Franciscan brothers, the most noted of whom was the ingenious Fray Luis Beltran, whose engineering talents were especially useful in the preparation for the historic expedition over the Andes in January, 1817. Quite as important as this military activity was the invaluable service rendered by the clergy in organizing the political aspects of the revolution. Sixteen of the twenty-nine signers of the famous Tucumán Declaration of Independence in 1816 were priests who thus became leaders of patriot sentiment, not only in Argentina, but throughout southern Spanish America, since there were delegates present in the Tucumán Congress from Chile, Upper Peru, Uruguay, and Paraguay, as well as from Argentina. It is well worthy of note, in this connection that the opposition to the monarchical plans of the Belgrano, Rivadavia, and other military leaders, was lead by a group of priests and monks, of whom Fray Justo and Fray Rodriguez were the most prominent. These Dominicans, popularly chosen representatives, stood steadfastly for a republican form of government. They were the pioneers of democracy in Spanish America.

It should not be forgotten, however, that many Church officials supported the cause of the old régime. Among these were, of course, the leaders of the hierarchy and of the various orders, especially those in Mexico, who feared for the future of their extensive landed possessions, if the revolutionists should

succeed in severing the bonds of union with the Old World. This element scoffed at the religious fervor of the patriots in the Mexican struggle for independence, and taunted the followers of Hidalgo and of Morelos with inquiries as to how they proposed to maintain relations with Rome without a navy.

In Argentina, on the other hand, the higher ecclesiastical officers were distinctly more liberal and worked enthusiastically, for the most part, in accord with the spirit of the new nation. Though many native-born Spanish bishops among them remained loyal to the mother country, the majority of the hierarchy rendered invaluable service to San Martín and his associates, in curbing the occasional reactionary intrigues of some of the secular clergy.

The position of the Church during and immediately after the War of Independence was crucial indeed. Here again one observes a sharp contrast between the situation of the English colonies in North America and the Spanish possessions in the South. The former had been founded on protest, upon fundamental differences, primarily religious, between the colonists and the mother country. This was true alike of Catholic Maryland and of Puritan New England. The germ of separation was discernible from the very beginning. In Spanish America, on the other hand, the keynote to the whole colonial period is the intimate relationship between colonies and mother country. Church officials, ecclesiastical decrees, even papal bulls, came not from Rome directly to America, but by way of the royal council chambers in Seville and Madrid. There was no intervention, not even by the Vatican, between the mother country and her colonies.

It can, therefore, be readily appreciated that for Spanish America the revolt and the subsequent disappearance of the bonds between the New World and the Old meant far more than did the same operation in Anglo-Saxon America. The shock to colonial society was the more profound because the union had been so intimate and strong. Church and State had cooperated for three centuries in the work of colonizing, civilizing, and converting. The sudden destruction of this relationship could not but produce a situation of the utmost gravity for the religious life of the newly liberated countries. Some authorities find in this episode the explanation for much of the agnosticism and

positivism which are prevalent today in many parts of Spanish America.

This theory does not, however, explain the wide prevalence of similar radical doctrines in Brazil, where Auguste Comte and other positivists have had a large following. The explanation in this case seems to be largely the influence of French philosophic teachings and the peculiarly intimate cultural relationship which has developed since about the middle of the nineteenth century between France and Brazil.[1]

It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that even this growth of positivism in Portuguese America did not prevent the adjustment of the questions incident to the separation of the Church and State in Brazil in 1890 with far less acrimony than was produced on similar occasions elsewhere. A noted Brazilian scholar has recently pointed out that the dignity, mutual consideration, and friendliness which marked that event are explained by the high esteem in which the services of the Church, through the Jesuits and other orders, had long been held. Largely through the instrumentality of the Jesuits during the colonial period the Indians near the larger centers of population between Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro had been peaceably brought into subjection, and the possibility of bloody wars such as stained the pages of New England's colonial history, was practically eliminated in the more populous section of the colony. It is true that the Tupis of the Brazilian coast and highlands were not so warlike nor so advanced as were the North American Indians, but the very absence of a well developed tribal organization among them made the problem of bringing them together into civilized life a very difficult one. The situation in this part of Brazil was quite in contrast with that among the natives in the greater part of Spanish America, where the conquistadors were able to build up their *encomienda* system—the organized serfdom of the Indians in plantations and mines—by using the tribal units under their respective *caciques* or chieftains. Brazil today, especially its very considerable intellectual element, has time and again acknowledged its indebtedness to the memorable

[1] Cf. Luis Alberto de Herrera, *La Revolución francesa y Sud America* (Paris, 1910) on the introduction of French political and philosophic doctrines into South America.

services of Anchieta, Vieyra and the other Jesuit leaders of the colonial period.

A further explanation of the almost entire absence of Indian exploitation in the northern and central coastal settlements of Brazil is found in the lack of mining operations during the first 200 years of the colonial period, the gold and diamond fields not having been extensively worked until the second and third decades of the eighteenth century. The best form of labor for the operation of the plantations of the tropical seaboard lowlands, which occupied most of the energies of the colonists, were the negro slaves, of whom a large supply was easily accessible in the Portuguese colonies on the African coast. In consequence of this, the Jesuits were able to carry on their work among the Indians with but little molestation from civil authorities or planters.

In southern Brazil, however, a very different situation arose. Climatic conditions were inhospitable alike to plantations and to negro slaves, and a form of society therefore developed which contrasted sharply with that of the cultured planter aristocracy of the north coast. The hardy life on the upland cattle ranges of the southern plateau, diversified with lucrative smuggling along the Spanish border, soon gave the settlers of Sao Paulo an entirely different character from their northern countrymen. Thenceforth, "Paulista" connoted vigor, frequently to the point of barbarity, and aggression not always restrained by a scrupulous regard for higher authority. It was quite natural, therefore, that whenever the Paulistas needed labor, the peaceful Guaraní settlements of the interior were ruthlessly raided, and as the natives fled in terror across the border to seek shelter in the "reductions" or missions of the Jesuits in Paraguay, the slave raiders were soon attacking these establishments. In consequence of this, the mission fathers made preparations for military defence and in the closing years of their régime nearly 200,000 Indians were under arms and organized in well disciplined units. This force was the only defense of the Spanish frontier against the aggressive Paulistas, who aptly called themselves "mamelucos," after the historic troops of savage Turkish soldiery, a source of terror to all Christians.

The bloody War of the Seven Missions (1750) was but one of these border raids. When the Jesuits were expelled from the

Spanish dominions, the only considerable forces of organized defenders of the frontier, the mission Indians, were left leaderless and gradually drifted back to the forest life of their ancestors. The tireless Paulistas took advantage of this situation, and of the confusion and demoralization which became more and more conspicuous in Spanish officialdom during the closing decades of the old régime. Large areas of what had once been colonial Peru and Paraguay were occupied by Portuguese squatters, roving bands of "gauchos" (cowboys) and smugglers. By 1810, when the first preparations for the liberation of Spanish America were being made, the work of these adventurers had already been largely accomplished, so that when the patriots of Buenos Aires sent out Belgrano and other leaders to win over the outlying provinces, they found Brazilian frontiersmen firmly established in territory which had once been held for Spain by the Jesuit missions.

The expulsion has been defended as a political necessity. The Spanish monarch probably achieved his object in a measure by the removal of a powerful *regnum in regno* that might have developed into a dangerous rival of civil authority, which the latter had already attacked on several occasions. Unconsciously, however, by the very process of removing this check upon the colonial communities, the latter were given a sense of self-reliance which soon inspired thoughts of independence. The development of a vigorous solidarity in the life of the civilian population of Asuncion which made that colony most aggressively democratic and outspokenly restive against restraint from the mother country, was due not only to the isolation of that settlement, but also to the continual struggles and rivalries between the civilian leaders and the Jesuits. When the latter disappeared the former turned their now unoccupied vigor in other directions. They successfully resisted all efforts on the part of Belgrano and his Argentine associates to draw Paraguay to the side of the Buenos Aires patriots, and chose rather the nominal subjection of the remote Spanish government to the very real domination of the nearby "patriots."

Liberation severed all ties—ecclesiastical as well as political—with the Old World. In some of the older and more conservative parts of the continent, where the participation in the revolutions had been late and less vigorous, the Church very soon re-assumed

its former position as an important factor in society. This was notably the case in Ecuador and Colombia, in each of which the papal nuncio or representative was placed at the head of the diplomatic corps, and the intimate relationship between Church and State was strongly emphasized. Throughout South America subsidies were paid to higher ecclesiastical officers by the state, a condition which had disappeared in Mexico in 1867. In Brazil, as already explained, the Church and State were separated in 1890, and in Spanish South America there are now ample indications of coming changes. In fact, separation in a mild form has just come in Uruguay, and is likely to occur soon in Argentina.

This separation will undoubtedly bring to the Church in Spanish America the same liberation from political entanglement and exploitation which was achieved in large measure in Brazil. The so-called clerical party is discernible in a few Latin American capitals, but in the largest and most important of the Spanish American republics there is no active party of this character. It is a fair assumption that, as the general condition of society in the other countries improves, a similar liberation of the Church from political entanglements may be looked for.

There are, however, many grave obstacles in the way of such an improvement. Chief among these, perhaps, is the large body of native and inferior mixed population, which would inevitably retard and modify the work of effective propaganda, no matter of what faith or sect. The strange, almost weird forms which Christianity has taken among the natives or among the negroes and Zambos of northern Brazil, are to be expected under such conditions, and can be avoided or overcome only by unceasing efforts in the work of education.

To carry on this work the priesthood must be and is being constantly renewed and reinvigored. The demoralizing effects of climate and of isolation must be counteracted. That most far sighted of recent Pontiffs, Leo XIII, keenly appreciated this, and began, about 1884, an extensive reform of Church affairs in South America. Carmelites, Jesuits, and Franciscans of high abilities were sent over in numbers to begin the task of regeneration which is still in progress. The establishment of the Collegio Pio Latino Americano at Rome, for the training of priests destined for service in this field, is a notable example of the zeal with which the Church is now carrying on this work.

This process of religious awakening is comparable, in a way, with the extraordinary economic advance with which it is synchronous. Both have been begun, and to a large extent are being continued through the efforts of foreigners. Conditions in Spanish America—both religious and economic—will improve, as the scattered and more or less primitive peoples of that great area are swung into the world tide of the more advanced civilization of other lands. The great support of the Church in that region is a strong priesthood, one which is kept not only alive but aggressive by contact, encouragement, and inspiration from the outside world.

Ultimately, however, the real strength of the Church in Spanish America must come from within. Foreign aid and encouragement can and must do much, but eventually the permanent rejuvenation must find its source in the native personnel of the hierarchy and the clergy. National self-consciousness is developing steadily in Spanish America upon a more and more substantial basis. Although there must always be a certain amount of dependence—ecclesiastical as well as economic—upon the outside world, there must at the same time be a steadily increasing reserve of native strength upon which to draw. No better means could be found of aiding in this direction than by the establishment of energetically administered and ably manned institutions of the type of the Catholic University of Santiago, Chile.

The Church has been something more in Spanish American history than a gruesome memory of Inquisitorial holocausts, grasping friars, and illiterate priests. There have been denunciations in plenty, some of them quite justified, and there can be no question that many reforms still remain to be accomplished. There are, nevertheless, many bright lights in the picture which are brought out more clearly by the more sombre backgrounds. It is these brighter aspects of the question to which the present pages invite attention. Though frequently neglected in the larger surveys of the history of the Spanish colonial empire in America, they may serve as reminders of what the Church has attained, and of traditions which may yield inspiration for the future.

JULIUS KLEIN, PH.D.,
Harvard University.

CATHOLIC AUTHORSHIP IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES BEFORE 1784

The present paper represents the first attempt—as far as the writer is aware—to bring together the titles of works by Catholic authors, printed within the present limits of the United States of America before the year 1784. That year has been selected as the *terminus ad quem* for the reason that Rev. Joseph M. Finotti's standard book: *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (New York, 1872) covers the period from 1784. Although that excellent work was never completed—only one part, that covering 1784–1820, having been published—and though bibliographers since his day have brought to light many other titles, yet the preparation of a new edition of Finotti is an independent enterprise in itself which we hope may some day be undertaken. We have limited our field to the earlier period.

The list which appears at the end of this essay includes forty-seven titles of works written by Catholic authors and printed in the American Colonies. A printing-press was set up by the Spaniards in Mexico as early as 1539, and by the French in Canada in 1764; but no printing was done west of the Mississippi River until after the close of the Revolutionary War. In other words, according to our researches, only forty-seven works of Catholic authorship were printed before 1784 on the continent of North America, between the present boundaries of Mexico and Canada.

The work of only one prominent Catholic colonist appears: that of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. This fact by no means implies, however, that Catholics living in the Colonies or laboring as missionaries among the Indian tribes of North America wrote no books, for they wrote a great many. But their writings were printed abroad. The works of the first Lord Baltimore, for example, were all published in London. The narratives written by Fr. Andrew White, S.J., the "Apostle of Maryland," so far as his writings were printed at all, appeared in London; other manuscripts from his pen remained unprinted until recent years. The celebrated collection of the *Jesuit Relations,* which were written for the Superiors of the Society in Europe by the missionaries laboring among the Indians of Canada or in the Mississippi Val-

ley, were issued in Paris. The diaries, letters, and narratives of the Franciscans in California and the old Southwest were printed on the press of the Order in Mexico or were sent to Spain for publication. The historian of Catholic Colonial literature in its entirety will gather from many sources these scattered leaves which form the complete story of literary production extending from the Abenaki Mission in Maine to the adobe bell-towers of Father Junipero Serra's Mission stations on the Pacific coast.

The question may be asked: How, in an inquiry like the present one, is the Catholic authorship of a given work determined? In reply, we confess at once that the determination of this question is in many cases encompassed with uncertainty, conjecture, and grave liability to overlook titles of which one is in search. A few criteria of Catholic authorship are available for all titles: (1) an author whose name upon the title-page is followed by the initials of a religious order, *e. g.*, "S.J." is easily identified as a Catholic; (2) prayer-books issued by the authorities of the Catholic Church or books of devotion stated to be intended for Catholic use are also clearly to be included; (3) books defending Catholic principles, beliefs, or practices may be assumed to be of Catholic authorship, at least within the period we are considering. There are other titles which look Catholic and yet may not be so, and others that may be of Catholic authorship without bearing the earmarks of such authorship. Works of the last-named class must be identified individually by those who know the religion of their authors from other sources. One result of printing the present list of works will be, it is hoped, to awaken interest in the subject that may call forth further contributions to the subject of Catholic bibliography of America.

In the *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, edited by N. B. Shurtleff,[c] under date of 19 May, 1669, we read the following curious minute:

> "The Court, being informed that there is now in the presse, reprinting, a booke, tit Imitacons of Christ, or to yt purpose, written by Thomas à Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe comend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, & that in the meane tjme there be no further progresse in that worke."

[c] Vol. iv, pt. ii, 1661–1674, p. 424. Boston, 1854.

What induced the printer, Samuel Green of Cambridge,[b] to issue such a book for the stern Puritans of the Massachusetts Colony we can only surmise; but apparently the work had not proceeded far before the magistrates were aware of it and took the action mentioned above. This order effectually quashed the publication of the *Imitation of Christ* [1][c] at that time, for there is no further reference to the book to be found; and no edition was issued in Massachusetts until after the Revolution. The Mennonite press of Christopher Saur at Germantown, Pennsylvania, reprinted in 1749 a London edition of *The Christian pattern, or, The imitation of Christ, being an abridgment of the works of Thomas à Kempis* [7]. German translations were also issued by Saur in 1749 [8], 1750 [11], and 1773 [27]. An English edition by John Payne appeared in 1783 [46].

The name of Père La Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV, King of France, figures in the title of a book printed in 1688 at Philadelphia, entitled: *A letter from Father La Chaise, confessor to the French King, to Father Peters, confessor to the King of England, in which is contained the project and design of that faction to introduce the Prince of Wales.* But the work is a fabrication, according to Evans, and was issued by Penn's enemies in support of the charge that Penn was a Catholic. *Letter from James II, King of England, to the Pope* (Boston, 1696) [2], requesting the latter's aid in putting down the rebellion, was printed doubtless for political effect. It is accompanied by "animadversions on the same."

There were but few Catholics in New England at this time. A French refugee, who was in Boston in 1687, writes as follows: "As for Papists, I have discovered since being here eight or ten, three of whom are French and came to our church, and the others are Irish; with the exception of the surgeon, who has a family, the others are here only in passage."[d]

The next Catholic publication is interesting as being the first argument to be issued from the press of New England in support of Catholic claims. It is entitled: *A Letter from a Romish priest in Canada to one* [Mrs. Christina Baker] *who was taken captive in*

[b] EVANS, *American Bibliography*, Vol. i, No. 114.

[c] Numbers refer to the List of Works to be found at the end of this article.

[d] FISHER: *Report of a French Protestant refugee* (Brooklyn, 1868); quoted in SHEA, *Cath. Church in Colonial Days*, p. 397.

her infancy and instructed in the Romish faith, but some time ago returned to this her native country. With an answer thereto by a person to whom it was communicated [Governor William Burnett, of Massachusetts]. (Boston, 1729) [3]. The author of the letter which forms a part of this publication was Fr. François Seguenot, a Sulpician priest of Montreal. The incident alluded to is thus related by Dr. Shea:

> "During the border wars with Canada, New England prisoners taken to Canada in some cases became Catholics and not infrequently remained there. Those who returned to New England, however, almost always relapsed. Such was the case of Christine Otis, who was brought up as a Catholic in Canada by her convert mother and married there. Left a widow, she was won by Captain Thomas Baker of Massachusetts, a commissioner sent to obtain a release of prisoners in that colony. Returning with him she became his wife, leaving her mother and a daughter in Canada. The Rev. Francis Seguenot, one of the Sulpitian priests at Montreal, hearing that she had renounced the faith, addressed a long letter to her in June, 1727, urging her to repent and return. This letter seems to have attracted no little attention, as a translation was printed in Boston in 1729, with a reply which is ascribed to Governor Burnett. Seguenot's argument was undoubtedly the first argument on the Catholic side which had ever issued from the press of New England."[e]

We come now to several publications written by Fénelon, the illustrious Archbishop of Cambrai. His *Dissertation on pure love* was printed at Philadelphia in 1738, being a reprint of the London edition [4]; and another issue of the book was printed at Saur's press in Germantown in 1750 [10]. Fénelon's *Uncertainty of a deathbed repentance* was printed by the same press in 1760 [18] and again in 1766 [22]. The reason for the publication by Protestants of these books written by a Catholic prelate is doubtless to be sought for in Fénelon's reputation among Protestants as being a defender of the doctrines of Madame Guyon, whose ideas had spread beyond the confines of France, especially after her death, and were long in favor among certain Protestant bodies in Germany, Switzerland, England and America.[f]

The Papist's curses, or, A vindication of the Roman Catholicks, etc. (Philadelphia, 1743) may have been written by a Catholic, to judge from the phraseology of the title [5]. As the middle of the

[e] SHEA, *Cath. Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 397–398.
[f] *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. vii, p. 94.

eighteenth century was not a time when writers prided themselves—as occasionally happens now—upon their freedom from bigotry, a "vindication" of Catholics by any one not of that faith seems improbable. The next year St. Bernard's *Hymn to Jesus* was printed at Boston [6].

A severe earthquake occurred at Lima, Peru, in 1746, an account of which was drawn up and printed in Spanish by order of the Viceroy. An English translation of this narrative was printed by Benjamin Franklin at his press in Philadelphia in 1749 entitled: *A true and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake which happened at Lima . . . in* 1746 [9]. The author was Father Pedro Lozano, a Jesuit, long resident in South America. Another edition of the *Relation of the dreadful earthquake* was printed at Boston in 1750 [13].

In 1751 Pope Benedict XIV renewed the prohibitions of Clement XII against the Freemasons. In the same year there appeared at New York: *A true translation of the Spanish bulls* [14]. One may not say for sure, without seeing the book, whether the "bulls" mentioned in this title are those issued against Freemasonry; but the coincidence of date is significant. *Extracts of several treatises against stage plays* written by Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, was printed in Philadelphia in 1754 [15]. Puritan condemnation of the drama in any form would suffice to insure considerable sale for such a book in parts of New England, if not in the other colonies. The fact that the author was a French nobleman and presumably a Catholic would be overlooked or ignored in a work appealing to popular prejudice in a practical matter such as this was at that time.

The subject of the next book to come to our notice may need a work of introduction: *Daily conversation with God exemplify'd in the holy life of Armelle Nicolas . . .*," by Jeanne de la Nativité, published at Germantown, 1754 [16]. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, in an article upon Armella Nicolas, signed by Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S.J., of St. Louis University, gives the following account of her.

> "'La bonne Armelle,' a saintly French serving-maid held in high veneration among the people, though never canonized by the Church, b. at Campenéac in Brittany, 9 September, 1606, of poor peasants, George Nicolas and Francisca Néant; d. 24 October, 1671. Her early

years were spent in the pious, simple life of the hard-working country folk. When she was twenty-two years of age her parents wished her to marry, but she chose rather to enter service in the neighboring town of Ploërmel, where she found more opportunity for her pious works and for satisfying her spiritual needs. After a few years she went to the larger town of Vannes, where she served in several families, and for a year and a half was portress at the Ursuline monastery. She here formed a special friendship with a certain sister, Jeanne de la Nativité, to whom she told from time to time many details of her spiritual life, and who noted down these communications and afterwards wrote the life of Armella, who could herself neither read nor write. Even the lowly work at the convent did not satisfy her craving for toil and humiliation, and she returned to one of her former employers, where she remained to the end of her life. To her severe trials and temptations she added many works of penance and was rewarded by the growth of her inner life and her intimate union with God. . . . Many recommended themselves to her prayers and her deathbed was surrounded by a great number of persons who held her in special veneration. Her heart was preserved in the Jesuit Church and her body was buried in the church of the Ursulines. Near her grave was erected a tablet to *La bonne Armelle*. Her tomb is a place of pilgrimage. Armella has been claimed, but without good grounds, as an exponent of Quietism. If some of her expressions seem tinged with Quietist thought, it is because the controversy which cleared and defined many notions concerning Quietism had not yet arisen. On the other hand, her simple, laborious life and practical piety make any such aberrations very unlikely."

So we have in this work another supposed contribution to Quietism, which seems to have been quite popular in the Colonies at this time. Another edition was published at Wilmington, 1762 [21]; and again at Philadelphia in 1767 [23]. *The blessed effects of a holy life and daily conversation with God*, by Jeanne, was issued at Philadelphia in 1780 [41].

The Lady's preceptor, adapted from a French work by Abbé d'Ancourt, bears the imprint New York, 1759 [17]; the next year Pope's *Essay on man* was printed for the first time in the Colonies, at Philadelphia [19]. Twenty years elapsed, however, before another edition was called for, when *An essay on man, in four epistles: together with the notes* appeared at Newbury, 1780 [42] and the same at Providence in the same year [43]. Racine seems not to have been much admired in the Colonies, only one edition of one of his dramas being printed in the period before

[5] *Cath. Encycl.*, Vol. xi, p. 67.

1784; namely: *The distrest mother, a tragedy* (New York, 1761) [20]. A curious work, printed in Philadelphia in 1767, is the following: *A translation of a passage from the letters of Julius, an ancient Italian missionary residing in China, of the manner there of draining and flooding their rice and grass lands along the sides of tide rivers.* [24]

In 1769, we find what is presumably the first American reference to the Irish as a race. In that year Mr. Thomas Randall printed at New York a broadside beginning: *Whereas a report prevails . . . that Mr. Thomas Smith . . . did reflect on the Irish people . . .* [25]. Whether the author was a Catholic or not is uncertain; but inasmuch as the religion of the Irish has always furnished a favorite means of slandering them, it is possible that this challenge is a rebuttal of some anti-Catholic attack, and is for that reason to be deemed of Catholic authorship. Another broadside headed, *The Irishmen's petition*, written by Lawrence Sweeney, was printed at New York in 1769 [26]. For similar reasons as above, we have ventured to assign Catholic authorship to this work also.

The first proposal to publish a book in this country intended obviously and unquestionably for Catholic readers is contained in a circular issued in 1774 by Robert Bell, a publisher of Philadelphia, calling for subscriptions to Bishop Challoner's *The Catholic Christian instructed in the Sacraments.*[h] The proposal apparently met with poor response, for we find no further allusion to the book. But in the same year Bishop Challoner's *Garden of the soul*, reprinted from the seventh London edition, was issued by Joseph Crukshank, a Quaker publisher of Philadelphia [29]. This was the first Catholic prayer-book issued in the United States unless *A Manual of Catholic prayers* [28] preceded it in the same year. This is an interesting question which can be settled perhaps by an examination of the files of contemporary numbers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, to which the writer has not access at present. Another edition of the *Manual* appeared in 1778 [35].

The Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick printed, presumably for the use of their own members, *The fundamental laws, statutes and constitutions of the ancient and benevolent order of the Friendly*

[h] EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13142.

Brothers of St. Patrick (Boston, 1774) [30]. An *Appendix* to this work was printed in Boston in 1775 [32].

The story of Abelard, whether on account of his romantic relations to Héloise or his constant and varied conflict with ecclesiastical authority, has not failed to interest every age since his own, and an edition of *The letters of Abelard and Héloise* was likely to secure readers, of whatever religious convictions. We are not surprised to find, therefore, published at Philadelphia in 1775: *Letters of Abelard and Héloise. To which is prefixed a particular account of their lives, amours and misfortunes. By the late John Hughes, Esq. To which is now first added the poem of Eloisa to Abelard by Mr.* [Alexander] *Pope* [31]. No further edition is recorded.

Maxims and moral reflections. By the Duke de La Rochefoucault, according to the new edition revised and improved at London in 1775, was printed at Philadelphia in 1778 [34].

In 1775, M. Gérard was sent by Louis XVI as Minister Plenipotentiary of France to the United States. In June of that year the French fleet arrived off the coast of Virginia, bringing much-needed aid to the struggling Colonies. Interest in things French must have been greatly stimulated by the new French alliance. The credentials of the French minister were printed at Lancaster in 1778 [33] and again in 1779 [39]. The French commander, Count D'Estaing, issued in 1779 a *Declaration* addressed in the name of the King to all Frenchmen already settled in North America [38]; the chaplain of Minister Gérard, Fr. Seraphin Bandot, a Recollect, delivered a Fourth of July address in the Catholic Church (St. Mary's) in Philadelphia [36]. The presence at mass of French officers of the Forces gave, no doubt, to Catholicity in the Colony a prestige that it had not previously possessed. In 1780, a printed invitation was issued in French by the French Minister to assist at a solemn *Te Deum* to be chanted on the Fourth of July at high noon in the new Catholic chapel in Philadelphia [40]. Patriotism was thus dignified and consecrated by Catholic ceremonial.

A printing press had been brought over on board the French fleet, which lay in the harbor of Newport, Rhode Island, from July, 1780, till March, 1781; it was used for printing notices and orders. According to a contemporary account, this press was

set up on shore at 641 Water Street, and other printed matter was issued there.[i] A work entitled *Voyage de Newport à Philadelphia, Albany, &c.* by the Marquis de Chastellux was printed on board the French fleet, but the author was a disciple of Voltaire.[j] Another product of this naval printing press was: *Calendrier français pour l'année commune* 1781 [44]. This was the first Catholic *Almanac* printed in the United States. It contains astronomical facts, a list of the officers of the fleet and of the army under the Count de Rochambeau, and events of the Revolution.

The first publication of Charles Carroll, the foremost Catholic of Colonial days, to be printed in America was: *A letter from Charles Carroll, senior, to the reader. With his petition to the General Assembly of Maryland; his speech in support of it; and the resolution of the House of Delegates thereon* [37]. (Annapolis, 1779.) James Ryan's *A Pedantic Pedagogue* was printed at Baltimore in 1779; but we cannot infer from the name that the author was a Catholic, although he may have been. *The select colloquies of Erasmus, with an English translation as literal as possible,* by John Clarke, appeared at Philadelphia, 1782 [45]. The book is designed for the use of beginners in the Latin tongue, as we are told on the title page, and is the eighteenth edition; but the previous editions were not printed in the Colonies. Erasmus probably had the reputation at that time of being a Reformer, in spite of his criticisms of Luther; but the religious faith of the author was of less importance in this connection than the suitability of his "colloquies" for use by the student of Latin.

One of the chaplains of the French army operating in America at this time was the Abbé Claude C. Robin. Apparently he saw considerable of the country; for, in 1783, appeared *New travels through North America: In a series of letters. . . Translated from the original of the Abbé Robin.*" Philadelphia, 1783 [47]. The translation, made by Philip Freneau, was reprinted at Boston, 1784, and was also issued serially in *The Time-piece and Literary Companion* for 1797.[k] This closes the series of Colonial im-

[i] CHAPIN, H. M. *Calendrier français pour l'année* 1781 *and the printing press of the French fleet in American waters during the Revolutionary war.* (Providence, 1914.)
[j] LAROUSSE: *Grand dict.*, Vol. 3, p. 1063.
[k] EVANS, *op. cit.*, No. 18167.

prints of books written by Catholic authors, as far as we have been able to trace them.

The sources of information upon our field are only general. No writer apparently has treated *ex professo* of works of Catholic authorship printed in the American Colonies. Father Finotti, in the introduction to his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* alludes cursorily to the writings of the Colonial period. The general sources are bibliographical and historical: bibliographies of books printed in the Colonies; histories of the Catholic Church and of Catholics in America before the recognition of the United States of America. The monumental work of Charles Evans: *American Bibliography. A chronological dictionary of all books, pamphlets and periodical publications printed in the United States of America from* . . . 1639 *down to* . . . 1820 (Chicago, 1903–), of which eight volumes have already appeared, covering the period 1639 to 1792, is the exhaustive and definitive bibliography of early American books. No one, save booksellers and bibliophiles in search of the *rarissima* of their trade, need go beyond Evans. For the purpose of our research his work has been not only indispensable but sufficient and unique; every one of the 18,317 titles of books printed in America before 1784 has been scanned for possible Catholic authorship. If titles have been overlooked which should appear in our list, the fault lies in the difficulty of always recognizing Catholic authorship, not in omissions by Evans. It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge here the great obligation which I owe to Mr. Evans for the loan of his valuable work during the progress of my research and for personal aid in solving points of difficulty.

One historical source that has proven of much assistance has been Dr. John Gilmary Shea: *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, 1886). Other historical works have been examined, such as: Dr. Justin Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1884–89, 8 v.), especially the volumes dealing with Colonial discovery and settlement; Rev. Zepherin Engelhardt, O.S.F., *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1908–15, 4 v.); and Hubert H. Bancroft's works, especially the volumes dealing with California, Arizona, New Mexico, and the Northwest. Many historical works dealing with the Colonial period yield nothing pertinent

for the purpose of our inquiry, for the reason that the books mentioned were not *printed* in America. Authority for the Catholicity of authors has been, in nearly every case, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907–14), to which we are also indebted for additional information of the highest importance. Without the aid of Evans' *American Bibliography* and the *Catholic Encyclopedia* the preparation of the present paper would have been, if not impossible, extremely arduous, and the results would have been meagre. The omission of the name of a prominent man from the pages of the *Encyclopedia* has been taken as evidence that he was not a Catholic. Instances are the Marquis de Chastellux and the Marquis de Lafayette.

The writer presents this tentative and pioneer essay with many misgivings. In examining many thousand titles without opportunity of examining all the books mentioned, and without undertaking, for obvious reasons, to test in every case the possibility of unknown authors being Catholics, there is manifold liability for omission of names which should appear in the list. But possibly the publication of this preliminary record may be the means of bringing to light other names.

LIST OF WORKS BY CATHOLIC AUTHORS PRINTED IN AMERICA BEFORE 1784.

1. Thomas à Kempis, 1380–1471.

The imitation of Christ. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green, 1669.

The Record of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, under date of 19 May, 1669, has the following minute: "The Court, being informed that there is now in the presse, reprinting, a booke, tit Imitacons of Christ, or to yt purpose, written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe comend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, & that in the meane tjme there be no further progresse in that worke." Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. i, No. 114. Evans enters this title under the year 1667; but the Court record is dated 1669.

2. James II, King of England, 1633–1701.

Letter to the Pope [requesting assistance in putting down the Revolution]. With animadversions on the same . . . Boston: Printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1696. Pp. 15. 8vo. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. i, No. 742.

3. SEGUENOT, FR. FRANÇOIS.

A letter from a Romish priest in Canada, to one [Mrs. Christina Baker], who was taken captive in her infancy and instructed in the Romish faith, but some time ago returned to this her native country. With an answer thereto, by a person to whom it was communicated [Governor William Burnett, of Massachusetts]. Boston: Printed for D. Henchman, 1729. Pp. (2), ii, 26. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. i, No. 3216. Dr. Shea gives an account of this incident and states that the author was a Sulpician priest at Montreal. SHEA, *Cath. Church in Colonial Days*, Vol. 1, pp. 397–398. Copies are in the British Museum Library and in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library.

4. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651–1715.

The Archbishop of Cambray's Dissertation on pure love, with an account of the life and writings of the lady for whose sake the archbishop was banished from court. And the grievous persecutions she suffer'd in France for her religion. Also two letters in French and English, written by one of the lady's maids, during her confinement in the castle of Vicennes, where she was a prisoner eight years: one of the letters was writ with a bit of stick instead of a pen, and soot instead of ink, to her brother; the other to a clergyman. Together with an apologetic preface containing divers letters of the Archbishop of Cambray . . . also divers letters of the lady . . . London: Printed, and reprinted by Andrew Bradford at the Sign of the Bible, in Front Street, Philadelphia, 1738. Pp. xcvi, 142+. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 4246. The "Lady" referred to is, of course, Mme. Guyon, the Quietist.

5. PAPIST'S CURSES.

The Papist's curses, or, A vindication of the Roman Catholicks, etc. [Philadelphia? Sold by Andrew Farrel.] 1743. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 5266. Written by a Catholic?

6. BERNARD DE CLAIRVAUX, 1091–1153.

Hymn to Jesus. Boston: 1744. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 5335. Copy in the Boston Athenaeum Library.

7. THOMAS À KEMPIS, 1380–1471.

The Christian pattern, or, The imitation of Jesus Christ, being an abridgment of the works of Thomas à Kempis. By a female hand. London, printed 1744. Germantown: Reprinted by Christopher Sowr. 1749. Pp. (2), 278. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6342. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

8. THOMAS À KEMPIS, 1380–1471.

Vier Bücher von der Nachfolge Christi. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1749. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6343. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

9. LOZANO, FR. PEDRO, S.J., 1697–1759.

A true and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake, which happen'd at Lima, the capital of Peru, and the neighbouring port of Callao,

on the 28th of October, 1746. With an account likewise of everything material that passed there afterwards to the end of November following. Published at Lima by command of the Viceroy, and translated from the original Spanish by a gentleman who resided many years in those countries. London printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted and sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall at the New Printing-Office near the Market, 1749. Pp. 52. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6348. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

10. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651–1715.

The Archbishop of Cambray's Dissertation on pure love . . . London: Printed, and re-printed by Christophor Sowr at Germantown, 1750. Pp. xcvii, 120. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6498. Another edition of No. 4. Copies in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library and New York Public Library.

11. THOMAS À KEMPIS, 1380–1471.

Der kleine Kempis, oder, Kurtze Sprüche und Gebätlein, aus denen meistens unbekannten Wercklein des Thomae à Kempis zusammen getragen zur Erbauung der kleinen. Vierte und vermehrte Edition. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1750. Pp. 162. 1 pl. 24mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6523.

12. THOMAS À KEMPIS, 1380–1471.

Der kleine Kempis. . . . Vierte und vermehrte Auflage. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1750. Pp. 162. 1 pl. 24mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 6698. Identical with No. 11 save for the word "Auflage" instead of "Edition." The discrepancy is reproduced by the entries in Hildeburn: *Press in Penn.* (Phila., 1885) I, p. 255, and in Seidensticker: *German printing in Amer.* (Phila., 1893), p. 36. Copies in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, and New York Public Library.

13. LOZANO, FR. PEDRO, S.J., 1697–1759.

A true and particular relation of the dreadful earthquake which happen'd at Lima . . . Boston: Printed and sold by D. Fowle in Queen Street, [1750.] Pp. 8. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. ii, No. 6531. For full title, see No. 9.

14. CATHOLIC CHURCH. *Pope.*

A true translation of the Spanish bulls, or, A form of the Pope's absolution. Translated by Garrat Noel. New York: Printed by James Parker: Sold at the house of Benjamin Leigh, school-master, near the Long-Bridge, and at the house of Capt. George Edmonds, the sign of the Bunch of Grapes near the Widow Rutgers, 1751. EVANS. *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 6775.

15. CONTI, ARMAND DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE, 1629–1666.

Extracts of several treatises wrote by the Prince of Conti, with the sentiments of the Fathers and some of the decrees of the councils concerning stage plays. . . . Philadelphia: Printed by William Bradford, at the sign of the Bible in Second Street. 1754. Pp. 47, (i). 8vo.

EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 7175. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.

16. JEANNE DE LA NATIVITÉ.

Daily conversation with God exemplify'd in the holy life of Armelle Nicolas, a poor ignorant country maid in France; commonly known by the name of the good Armelle, deceas'd at Bretaigne in the year 1671. Done out of French. . . . Germantown: Printed by Christopher Sower Junior, 1754. Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 7218.

17. ANCOURT, D', *abbé*.

The lady's preceptor. Or, A letter to a young lady of distinction upon politeness. Taken from the French of the Abbé d'Ancourt and adapted to the religion, custom and manners of the English nation. By a gentleman of Cambridge. Five lines from Milton. New-York: Printed and sold by Samuel Parker at the New-Printing-Office in Beaver-Street, 1759. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8296.

18. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651–1715.

The uncertainty of a deathbed repentance, illustrated under the character of Penitens. [Germantown: Printed by Christopher Sower, 1760.] Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8597. Copy in the Library Company of Philadelphia Library.

19. POPE, ALEXANDER, 1688–1744.

An essay on man. Enlarged and improved by the author. With notes by William Warberton, M.A. London printed. Philadelphia: Re-printed and sold by W. Dunlap, at the Newest-Printing-Office, in Market-Street, 1760. Pp. 68, 1 pl. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8718.

20. RACINE, JEAN, 1639–1699.

The distrest mother: A tragedy. Translated by A. Philips from the Andromaque of Racine. New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, 1761. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 8986.

21. JEANNE DE LA NATIVITÉ.

Daily conversation with God, exemplify'd in the holy life of Armelle Nicholas, a poor ignorant country maid in France, commonly known by the name of Good Armelle; who departed this life, at Bretaigne, in the year 1671. Translated from the French. . . . Wilmington: Printed by James Adams, in Market-Street, 1762. Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iii, No. 9149. Copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.

22. FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE, 1651–1715.

The uncertainty of a death-bed repentance, illustrated under the character of Penitens. Germantown: Printed by Christoph Saur, 1766. Pp. 16. 8vo. EVANS: *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 10296.

23. JEANNE DE LA NATIVITÉ.

Daily conversation with God, exemplified in the holy life of Armelle Nicholas, a poor ignorant country maid in France, commonly known by the name of the Good Armelle, deceas'd in Bretaigne in the year

1671. Done out of French. . . . London printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted by Henry Miller, in Second-Street, 1767. Pp. 16. 16mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 10659. Copy in New York Public Library.

24. JULIUS.

A translation of a passage from the letters of Julius, an antient Italian missionary, residing in China, of the manner there of draining and flooding their rice and grass lands along the sides of tide rivers. Philadelphia: Printed by William Goddard, 1767. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 10660.

25. RANDALL, THOMAS.

Whereas a report prevails in this city, that Mr. Thomas Smith, during the last election, did reflect on the Irish people, by saying that they came into this conntry [!] floating upon straws. . . . [Signed] Thomas Randall, William Browne. New-York, January 23, 1769. [New York: 1769.] Broadside. 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 11433. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia Library.

26. SWEENEY, LAWRENCE.

The Irishmen's petition, to the honourable C-MM-SSI-N-RS of Excise &C. . . . [Signed] Patrick O'Conner, Blaney O'Bryan, Carney Macguire, Lawrence Sweeney. [Printed by desire. New York: 1769.] Broadside. 4to. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 11485. Copy in the Library of Congress.

27. THOMAS À KEMPIS, 1380–1471.

Der kleine Kempis; oder, Kurze Sprüche und Gebätlein, aus denen meistens unbekannten Werklein des Thomas à Kempis zusammen getragen zur Erbauung der Kleinen. Fünfte und vermehrte Auflage. Germantown, gedruckt u. zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1773. Pp. (10), 155. Plate. 16mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. iv, No. 12824. Copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.

28. CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A manual of Catholic prayers. [Three lines.] Philadelphia: Printed for the Subscribers, by Robert Bell, Bookseller in Third-Street, 1774. Pp. 272+. Plate. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. 5, No. 13588. Copy in Library of Georgetown University, D. C.

29. CHALLONER, RICHARD, bp., 1691–1781.

The garden of the soul; or, A manual of spiritual exercises and instructions for Christians, who (living in the world) aspire to devotion. The seventh edition, corrected. London, printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted, by Joseph Crukshank, in Market-Street, between Second and Third Streets, [1774.] Pp. 364. 24mo. The first Catholic prayer-book printed in English in America, unless No. 28 preceded it in the same year. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13188. Finotti: *Bibliog. Cath. Amer.*, pp. 15–16.

30. FRIENDLY BROTHERS OF ST. PATRICK.

The fundamental laws, statutes, and constitutions of the ancient

and most benevolent order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. [Nine lines of Latin from] Cicero. Boston: Printed by William M'Alpine, in Marlborough-Street, 1774. Pp. 48. 8vo. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13284. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.

31. Abailard, Pierre, 1079–1142.

Letters of Abelard and Heloise. To which is prefix'd a particular account of their lives, amours and misfortunes. By the late John Hughes, Esq. To which is now first added the poem of Eloisa to Abelard. By Mr. Pope. Philadelphia: Printed for Samuel Delap, 1775. Pp. 124 Plate. 12mo. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 13787. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.

32. Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick.

An appendix to the fundamental laws, statutes, and constitutions, of the ancient and most benevolent order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. Boston: In New-England, Printed in the year 1775. Pp. 47. 8vo. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 14048. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.

33. Louis XVI, King of France, 1754–1793.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents, greeting. Credentials of C. A. Gerard, as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. Lancaster: Printed by Francis Bailey, 1778. Pp. (2). 4to. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 15798. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia.

34. La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de, Prince de Marsillac, 1613–1680.

Maxims and moral reflections. By the Duke de la Rochefoucault. Printed according to the new edition, revised and improved at London, in 1775. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Robert Bell, next door to St. Paul's Church, in Third-Street, 1778. Pp. 142 (2). 8vo. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 15864. Copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

35. Catholic Church.

A manual of Catholic prayers, and other Christian devotions for the use of those Roman Catholics who ardently aspire after salvation. Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell, 1778. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. v, No. 16058.

36. Bandot, Seraphin.

Discours prononcé le 4 Juillet, jour de l'anniversaire de l'Indépendence, dans l'Eglise Catholique, par le Reverend Père Seraphin Bandot, Recollet, aumônier de son Excellence Mr. Gerard, ministre Plénipotentiare de France auprès des Etats Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A Philadelphie, de l'Imprimerie de Steiner & Cist, [1779.] Broadside fol. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16198.

37. Carroll, Charles, 1702–1782.

A letter from Charles Carroll, senior, to the reader. With his petition to the General Assembly of Maryland; his speech in support of it;

and the resolution of the House of Delegates thereon. [Seven lines of quotations.] Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green, 1779. Pp. (16). 4to. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16216. Copy in the Library of Congress.

38. Estaing, Charles Hector Theodat, Comte d', 1729–1794.

Déclaration addressée au nom du roi à tous les anciens François de l'Amérique Septentrionale. [Colophon:] A Philadelphie, de l'Imprimerie de François Bailey, Rue du Marché, [1779.] Pp. 3, (1). fol. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16265. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia Library.

39. Louis XVI, King of France, 1754–1793.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents, greetings. [Credentials of C. A. Gerard, as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. Lancaster: Printed by Francis Bailey, 1779.] Pp. (2). 4to. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16279. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia Library.

40. Philadelphia. Catholic Chapel.

Vous êtes prié de la part du Ministre Plenipotentiare de France d'assister au Te Deum, qu'il sera chanter Dimanche 4 de ce mois, à midi dans la Chapelle Catholique neuve pour celebrer l'anniversaire de l'indépendance. . . . [Colophon:] A Philadelphia, de l'imprimerie de François Bailey, Rue du Marché, [1779.] Broadside. 4to. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16475. Copy in Library Company of Philadelphia.

41. Jeanne de la Nativité.

The blessed effects of a holy life and daily conversation with God, exemplified in a short extract of the life of Armelle Nicolas, a poor ignorant country maid. [Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank, 1780.] Pp. 12. 12mo. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16811.

42. Pope, Alexander, 1688–1744.

An essay on man, in four epistles: Together with the notes. . . . Newbury: Printed by John Mycall, for N. Coverly of Boston, 1780. Pp. 55. 4to. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 16955. Copy in the Library of Congress.

43. Pope, Alexander, 1688–1744.

An essay on man, in four epistles. Together with the notes. Providence: Printed by Bennett Wheeler, 1780. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog*, Vol. vi, No. 16956.

44. Calendrier français.

Calendrier français pour l'année commune, 1781. Contenant: Le calcul ordinaire du lever & du coucher du soleil, de la lune & leur déclinaison. Un état des officiers de l'escadre, & des principaux de l'armée aux ordres de M. le Comte de Rochambeau. Les époques les plus intéressantes de la guerre présente, avec les routes du continent. à Newport, de l'Imprimerie royale de l'escadre, près le Parc de la marine. 125 x 81 mm. Evans, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 17110. Chapin, Howard Millar, *Calendrier français*. . . . (Providence, 1914). The first

Catholic almanac printed in the United States. Copy in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence.

45. ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS, 1465–1536.

Erasmi Colloquia selecta; or, The select Colloquies of Erasmus. With an English translation, as literal as possible. Designed for the use of beginners in the Latin tongue. The eighteenth edition, by John Clarke, author of the Essays upon Education and Study. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Joseph Crukshank, in Market-Street, between Second and Third-Streets, 1782. Pp. v, 222. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 17529.

46. THOMAS À KEMPIS, 1380–1471.

Of the imitation of Christ: In three books. Translated from the Latin of Thomas à Kempis. By John Payne. London, printed. Philadelphia: Re-printed and sold by Joseph Crukshank, in Market-Street, between Second and Third-Streets, 1783. Pp. 44, 211. 12mo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 17992. Copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, and in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.

47. ROBIN, CLAUDE C., L'ABBÉ.

New travels through North-America: In a series of letters; exhibiting: The history of the victorious campaign of the allied armies, under his excellency General Washington, and the Count de Rochambeau, in the year 1781. Interspersed with political, and philosophical observations, upon the genius, temper, and customs of the Americans; also, narrations of the capture of General Burgoyne and Lord Cornwallis, with their armies; and a variety of interesting particulars, which occurred in the course of the war in America. Translated from the original of the Abbé Robin, one of the chaplains to the French army in America. [Six lines from] Busiris, by Young. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Robert Bell, in Third-Street, 1783. Price two-thirds of a dollar. Pp. 112. 8vo. EVANS, *Amer. Bibliog.*, Vol. vi, No. 18167. Copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Library of Congress, New York Historical Society Library, and John Carter Brown Library, Providence. Philip Freneau's translation was reprinted in Boston in 1784; and also issued serially in *The Time-piece and Literary Companion* for 1797.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL, A.B. (Harvard),
The Newberry Library, Chicago.

MISCELLANY

CATHOLIC CHURCH ANNALS OF KANSAS CITY (1800-1857)[1]

Barnes, in his *Commonwealth of Missouri*, tells us that "the earliest historical mention of the present site of Kansas City is found in the memoirs of Daniel Boone Junior (Daniel Morgan Boone), who reached the Great Bend of the Missouri River as early as the close of the eighteenth century, and lies buried in the old Westport graveyard with no mark over his resting place."[2]

For twelve years, Daniel Morgan Boone, the third son of Daniel Boone the pioneer, spent his summers in St. Louis, and his winters in hunting and trapping beaver on the Big Blue River and the Little Blue River, in what is now Jackson County, Mo., which he declared to be the best beaver country he had ever known. Here, where Kansas City now stands, "it was that Lewis and Clark halted for a week's rest in 1804, on their famous expedition."[3] "Merriweather Lewis and William Clark, under orders from President Jefferson, ascended the Missouri to its sources, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the head waters of the Columbia River, and floated down that river to the Pacific Ocean, 1804, 1806." Through Kansas City's site, the gateway to the plains, Lieutenant Pike, afterwards Brigadier General Pike, an officer in the service of the United States, passed at the head of his company, in 1805, on an exploring expedition to the sources of the Kansas, Arkansas, Platte, and Pierre Jaune Rivers. Pike's Peak, which he discovered in 1806, is named after him. (Brigadier General Pike was killed in Canada, in the war of 1812.)

The first or earliest historic mention of the word "Kansas," is found in the Journal records of the Lewis and Clark expedition, where, under date of June 4, 1804, in describing their ascent of the Missouri River, it is recorded: "We encamped at the upper point of the mouth of the river Kansas." Kansas City derives its name from its proximity to the river Kansas, and the river Kansas takes its name from the Kansas tribe of Indians who formerly owned and occupied the country watered by the Kansas River. The old settlers and pioneers spelled and pronounced the word variously, *Konseas*, *Cances*, *Kons*, *Kanzan*, *Kaw*, which have merged by common usage into the word *Kansas*. By the mouth of the *Kaw* and the *Nodawa*, there came up, in 1810, from St. Louis and Fort Osage, the flotilla of the American Fur Company, organized by John Jacob

[1] In the Diocesean Archives of Kansas City are preserved some valuable and interesting articles from the pen of the late Bishop of Kansas City, Right Rev. John Joseph Hogan, referring to the early history of the place now known as Kansas City, Mo. The excerpts given in this paper present in chronological order those main facts and notable events which mark the early days of that city. The passages selected give also a fair idea of the activities of the pioneer priests who labored in this section of Missouri, and of the many difficulties they encountered.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 747–748.

[3] BARNES, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 747.

Astor of New York. This famous expedition, under the command of William Price Hunt of Trenton, N. J., left Montreal, Canada, early in 1810, by way of Mackinaw, Green Bay, the Fox, Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, and reached St. Louis September 3, 1810. Having set out from St. Louis October 21, 1810, they ascended the Missouri River (by mouth of the *Kaw* and the *Nodawa*) to its sources, passed over the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and discovered the sources of the Columbia River down to the Pacific Ocean, which they reached on February 15, 1812.

Pierre Liquest Laclede of the firm "Laclede, Maxent & Co.," otherwise called the "Louisiana Fur Company," left New Orleans on August 3, 1763, to ascend the Mississippi River in search of a location for a trading post, which he established the following year, and named it *St. Louis* after St. Louis, King of France, In the expedition with Pierre Liquest Laclede were two adventurous youths—Auguste Chouteau, 14 years of age, and his younger brother, Pierre Chouteau, both recently arrived from France. Auguste Chouteau was from the beginning Pierre Liquest Laclede's favorite and trusted friend. Auguste Chouteau married a young woman from New Orleans in her sixteenth year, by name Marie-Therese, said to be the first white woman who set foot on Missouri soil. Mrs. Marie-Therese Chouteau was afterwards better known as Madame Chouteau. The issue of this marriage was one child. Pierre Chouteau likewise married in his early days, and had eight sons and one daughter. The sons' names were Pierre, Charles, François, Cyprian, Auguste, Louis, Pharamond, and Frederick. François, the third son, called also Francis Gesso, married, in 1819, Miss Berenice Menard of Kaskaskia, Ill. She was the daughter of Col. Pierre Menard, first (Territorial) Governor of Illinois, and was born in 1801.

Francis Gesso Chouteau and his wife in 1819 voyaged in a canoe or boat called a *pirogue*, rowed or propelled by oars or poles, from St. Louis to the Black Snake Hills (where afterwards was built the city of St. Joseph) on the Upper Missouri River, and established there a western agency of the American Fur Company of New York. The Black Snake Hills were not considered suitable for the purpose of the proposed agency, and Gesso Chouteau and his wife reëmbarked on the *pirogue*, sailing down stream with the current, and disembarked probably at the mouth of the Kansas River, to make an examination of the place, with the view of selecting it for his agency which he soon afterwards established there. Continuing his voyage down stream in company with his wife to his home at St. Louis, he sent Louis Berthollet, commonly called Grand Louis, with his wife Mrs. Berthollet, and stepson Louis Prem, and some employes to ascend the Missouri River, in order to select a location for the proposed trading post at the Indian Trail, south of the Randolph Bluffs. They were to build some houses for workmen preparatory to the erection of more permanent buildings. Louis Berthollet, with his wife and stepson and employes, journeyed by water in a bateau, and on arriving, they commenced building some log cabins on the south side of the Missouri River, opposite the Randolph Bluffs. But the Indians put a stop to their work and ordered them off the lands. He then moved to the north side of the river and erected a camp or temporary shelter, where he remained awaiting the arrival of Mr. Chouteau.

In 1822, Francis Gesso Chouteau, in three keel boats, with his family and thirty-five employes, arrived from St. Louis and commenced the work of building houses for the trading post. He first obtained the consent of the Indians to the proposed establishment, which was to be erected on the south side of the Missouri River near the place now known as Randolph Point. Mrs. Berenice Chouteau is considered the first white woman who set foot on the place where Kansas City now stands. After Mrs. Chouteau came Mrs. Berthollet, the second white woman, with her family and relatives. At this time steamboat navigation had begun in the Lower Missouri, the first steamboat trip, from St. Louis to the mouth of the Chariton River, being made in 1819.

On March 2, 1821, by resolution of Congress, Missouri was admitted into the Union, and on August 10, 1821, James Monroe, President of the United States, issued his proclamation declaring that Missouri had become a State of the American Union. At this time (1821) the only white residents of the place now known as Kansas City were Frenchmen, trappers, hunters and traders, and these were all Catholics.

When Missouri was admitted into the Union, the title of the Kansas Osages and other tribes of Indians to a large tract of land lying immediately south of the Missouri River on the western confines of the State, in which tract Kansas City is situated, was vested in the Indians themselves, not in severalty but in tribal ownership, the right of eminent domain resting with the Federal Government. By a treaty dated June 3, 1825, made at Fort Osage, with the Indian Tribes who owned these lands, the United States came into possession of this tract of country, and immediately opened it for purchase and settlement. Hundreds of families, who had been on the borders awaiting the day of admission to these lands, soon rushed in and began selecting sites for their future homesteads, thus adding another element to the population already on the ground and engaged in trading with the Fur Companies. By an act of the Missouri Legislature dated February 16, 1825, Jackson County was established and its limits defined by metes and bounds. The Jackson County Court organized for business on December 15, 1826. In 1826, a great flood in the Missouri River submerged Francis Gesso Chouteau's trading post which had been built in 1822 opposite the Randolph Bluffs. This caused the removal of the trading post to a point farther up the river, at or near the place now known as the foot of Harrison Street. This new trading post comprised several log houses, into which Chouteau moved his family, workmen, and goods. At this time others were located near this Chouteau hamlet, namely, Daniel Morgan Boone, son of the famous pioneer; Gabriel Philibert, blacksmith by government appointment to the Indians; and Benito Vasquez, sub-agent for the Indians.

After the subsidence of the great flood of 1826, in the Missouri River, Gabriel Prudhomme, a French Canadian, bought some of the Chouteau property at the foot of Harrison Street, and occupied 256 acres of land at the place afterwards known as "Westport Landing" which subsequently became the First or "Old Town Site," called then the "Town of Kansas," and now "Kansas City." In 1830 a surveying party sent out by the Government, came from the East, through Independence, crossed to the west of the Big Blue River, thence north-

west over the Kaw or Kansas River, going further northwest, where they surveyed and established eleven sections of land for a large military reservation, afterward to be known as "Fort Leavenworth." In 1831, a number of French Canadians, with Indian wives and half-breed children, eight or more families in all, came down the Missouri River from the upper sources in the Rocky Mountains, to the mouth of the Kansas River, and entered or bought small tracts of land in the "West Bottoms" and commenced a settlement there. Previous to this, the "West Bottoms" was a tractless uninhabited forest. On May 1, 1832, Captain Bonneville with his party of 110 men, mostly hunters and trappers, set out from Fort Osage (now Sibley) on the Missouri River, and reached the Kansas River on May 12; they entered the Missouri River from the South, where White Plume, the imposing Kansas Chief, ruled his tribe. From the mouth of the Kansas River, this expedition moved westward over the plains, to the sources of the Missouri, the Wind River Mountains, and the Big Horn Mountains.

In 1833, the first consignment of goods from a steamboat was landed at Kansas City, at the foot of Grand Avenue, for John Calvin McCoy of Westport, which had then begun to be considered a place of some commercial importance. This landing place on the bank of the Missouri thenceforward became known as "Westport Landing." John Calvin McCoy thus describes the site of Westport Landing, now Kansas City:

> The picture, as I first saw it, in 1832, of her rough precipitous hills, deep impassable gorges, and of the dense forest and almost impenetrable vines, brushwood and fallen timber; of the old field of a few acres on the high ridge overlooking the river, surrounded by an old dilapidated rail fence, with a few old monarchs of the forest with bare limbs, that had withstood the rude blasts and buffetings of the storms for a hundred years; of the log house standing on the rocky brink of the river, with its occupant, one-eyed Ellis and his brood of young barefooted and barelegged children; of the narrow winding pathway along the river bank; and of the solitary crow perched high on a limb of one of the old trees; all, all, are still vividly impressed upon my memory: much more vividly doubtless, from the contrast of the magical change that is now pictured to me upon the same ground.[4]

A *History of Kansas City, Mo.*, edited by Theo. S. Case, and published in 1888, states at page 301: "In 1825, when all this section of the country was still in the possession of the Indians, Jesuit Fathers from St. Louis organized a mission near the mouth of the Kaw River." This statement is not sustained by the facts, which are as follows:

In 1763, the Superior Council of Louisiana, a body of civilians, having charge of Louisiana Territory Government, in imitation of the irreligious conduct of most of the European Governments at that time, published a decree suppressing the Jesuits throughout Louisiana. Louisiana Territory was then a country of vast expanse. From the time that Illinois was first discovered by Marquette

[4] This description of the site of Kansas City as it was in 1832, was written by Mr. John Calvin McCoy, forty years later, in 1872.

and Joliet and the Lower Mississippi was explored by La Salle, the French claimed the whole territory from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains as the Territory of Louisiana, and the dominion continued until the Treaty of Paris (1763) was duly signed and published and its terms proclaimed in Great Britain and France and throughout their foreign possessions. In Kaskaskia, Ill., which was then in Louisiana, there were three Jesuit Priests, one of whom was Rev. Sebastian Muerin. These three priests were arrested at Kaskaskia, and sent prisoners to New Orleans. All the Louisiana Jesuits with one or two exceptions, were deported from New Orleans to France, and their property in Louisiana was confiscated. Father Muerin by his earnest entreaties saved himself from being deported, and obtained permission to return to Kaskaskia as a secular priest to attend to his Indians. Without means he struggled on his long journey homeward, and without home or church began his missionary labors anew at Kaskaskia. In May, 1766, he visited and administered the sacraments in the new town of St. Louis which had been founded two years previous by Pierre Liquest Laclede. Again in 1772, Father Muerin visited St. Louis, and stayed there from February to May attending the Catholics of the place. In 1774, Father Muerin at Cahokia, Ill., heard the sad news of the suppression of the Jesuits throughout the world (July 21, 1773), by Pope Clement XIV. In his distress he wrote to the Bishop of Quebec, in whose Diocese Illinois was at that time included, requesting that he be received as a secular priest into the Quebec Diocese and be permitted to stay at Cahokia; a request which the Bishop readily granted. In 1775, Father Muerin again visited St. Louis. After his return to his mission at Cahokia, he died in 1775, and was buried in his church there. Father Muerin was the last member of the suppressed Society in the Illinois country and the Louisiana Territory.

For forty-one years, from 1773, the Jesuits were suppressed and disbanded. On August 7, 1814, they were officially restored by Pope Pius VII. After their restoration, the Maryland Jesuits were the first to organize in the United States. In 1823, Bishop Dubourg of New Orleans, whose jurisdiction embraced Upper and Lower Louisiana, applied to Very Rev. Father Charles Neale, S.J., Provincial of the Jesuits in Maryland, to supply him with Jesuit missionaries for educating and civilizing the Indians in the territories west of the Mississippi. Accordingly, on April 11, 1823, under the guidance of Rev. Charles Van Quickenborne, S.J., superior, and of Rev. Peter J. Timmermans, S.J., assistant superior, six Jesuit scholastics, and some Jesuit lay brothers, set out from Maryland, and arrived at St. Louis on May 31, 1823. The Jesuit scholastics were: F. L. Verreydt, F. G. Van Assche, P. J. Verhaegen, P. J. De Smet, J. A. Elet, and J. B. Smedts. In June, 1823, the two Jesuit Fathers, with their six novices and the lay brothers, took possession of a farm near Florissant, Mo., donated to them by a Mr. O'Neil of Florissant, and there established their Novitiate. Of these six novices, two—P. J. Verhaegen, and J. B. Smedts—were ordained priests in 1825. The other four were ordained priests in 1827. Father Van Quickenborne made occasional visits during the years 1828, 1829 and 1830 to the Osage Indians in Southern Kansas; but the Osage Mission in Kansas was not permanently established until 1847. Father Van Quickenborne

also established the Kickapoo Indian Mission near Fort Leavenworth in 1837. That same year (1837) Father Van Quickenborne died (August 17) at Portage des Sioux, Mo. In 1838, Father De Smet, with the assistance of Father Verreydt, established a mission among the Pottowattomie Indians at Council Bluffs.[5]

Rev. Benedict Roux, a native of France, priest of the Diocese of St. Louis was the first resident priest of the place now known as Kansas City. Rev. Benedict Roux's *Register of Baptisms* extends over a period of one year, two months and two days; namely, from February 23, 1834, to April 25, 1835. At or soon after this date he must have been transferred to Kaskaskia, Ill.; for his name appears in the *United States Catholic Almanac* for 1836 and following years, as Pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, Kaskaskia. Kaskaskia was then in the Diocese of St. Louis. In 1840, 1841, Rev. Benedict Roux's name appears in the *Catholic Almanacs*, in the Clergy List of the Diocese of St. Louis, but the church or mission attended by him is not given. In 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, the *United States Catholic Almanacs* make mention of him as stationed at the Cathedral of St. Louis. Afterwards his name is not found in the *Almanac* Clergy Lists. It is said he returned to France and died there. The Catholics attended by Reverend Father Roux, including those on the Kansas Border and in Clay County, Mo., may have numbered 150 souls.[6]

---

[5] Such are the facts of the history of the Jesuits of St. Louis in their early days, as recorded in our ecclesiastical annals. But it does not appear anywhere of record as stated by the editor of the *History of Kansas City* already referred to, that "in 1825, when all this section of country was still in the possession of the Indians, Jesuit Fathers from St. Louis organized a mission near the mouth of the Kansas River."

[6] The name of Rev. Benedict Roux also appears on the *Records* of Jackson County in connection with several land transfers, one made by the United States to Benedict Roux, conveying West ½ Lots 1 and 2, N.E. ¼ Section 6, Township 49, Range 33; the other made by Pierre Laliberte to Benedict Roux, dated April 5, 1834, recorded in Book C., page 148, and described as follows, viz: S. E. ¼ of N. E. ¼, Section 6, Township 49, Range 33, containing 40 acres. By Warrantee Deed, dated October 20, 1838, Benedict Roux sells to Francis Mumblo, consideration $700, the following land, viz: South East Quarter of North East Quarter of Section 6, Township 49, Range 33; "*except ten acres in a square, on the centre of which a log church and a log house are put up.*" Also conveys West ½ of Lots 1 and 2, in N. E. ¼ section 6, Township 49, Range 33. The log church referred to in this deed was built by Rev. Benedict Roux in 1835 and dedicated to St. Francis Xavier. This was the first church erected in the territory of the Kansas City diocese. It stood at the place now known as Eleventh and Penn Streets, Kansas City. In the first Kansas City Diocesan Synod, held in 1887, St. John Francis Regis was named principal patron of the diocese, for the reason that (as is stated in the pages of the synod) to him was dedicated the first church (*i. e.*, that at Westport erected in 1842) in the territory that now comprises the diocese. This, however, was an inadvertence of the Fathers of the Synod. A Warrantee Deed, dated January 31, 1839, consideration $2 (recorded Book K., page 14, at Independence July 23, 1844), by Benedict Roux to Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Catholic Bishop of St. Louis, Mo., conveys 10 acres

Among the children baptized by Father Roux, were Elizabeth Boone, born in 1833, and Eulalie Boone, born in 1835. These were grand daughters of the famous pioneer, Daniel Boone, and daughters of Daniel Morgan Boone, who taught school in 1835 in the Catholic parsonage.

Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, by his last will and testament, dated December 4, 1841, and recorded March 13, 1846, in Book L., page 326, Jackson County *Records*, devised to his successor, Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, the "10 acres in a square, in the center of which a log church and log house are put up," in S. E. ¼ of N. E. ¼, section 6, Township 49, Range 33, in Jackson County, Mo. The will of Right Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, was written in Philadelphia on December 4, 1841, which was the third day after the consecration of Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick as Bishop Rosati's Coadjutor, with right of succession. Bishop Kenrick's consecration took place in St. Mary's Church of which he was pastor, in Philadelphia, on St. Andrew's day, November 30, 1841.

Gabriel Prudhomme, a French Canadian, and a member of Father Roux's congregation, entered 256 acres of government land at the place afterwards called "Westport Landing." He died in 1836 and in 1838, three commissioners appointed by the Circuit Court of Jackson County, Mo., with many others, assembled on the south bank of the Missouri, where Grand Avenue now terminates, and there sold for $4 220, Gabriel Prudhomme's 256 acres of land, to a company of speculators organized to plat the tract as a town site, and to sell it in building lots to settlers. The town site was platted the following year, 1839, by a surveyor, John Calvin McCoy, and is now designated in the Kansas City maps and plats as the "Old Town."

Francis Gesso Chouteau died at the place now known as Kansas City, in 1838. The Chouteau estate comprised about twelve hundred acres, and was sold to a Mr. Guinotte, agent of a Belgian Emigrant Company. In 1837, Reverend Father Van Quickenborne, S.J., superior of the Jesuits of Florissant and St. Louis, passed through the place now known as Kansas City, on his way to establish the Kickapoo Indian Mission near Fort Leavenworth. In 1838, Father De Smet, S.J., went up the Missouri River, past Kansas City, to establish a mission among the Pottowattomie Indians at Council Bluffs. That same year Reverend Father Petit, of the Diocese of Vincennes, pastor of the Pottowattomie Indians in Michigan Territory, in his journey with these Indians, passed through Kansas City on the way to their new home which had been assigned to them by the Government, at Sugar Creek, the head waters of the Osage River, Indian Territory. In 1839, Father Petit of Sugar Creek resigned on account of his health the pastoral charge of the Indians at that place, and

---

in a square, on the center of which a log church and a log house are put up; lying in Jackson County, Mo., in the S. E. ¼ of N. E. ¼ of Section 6, Township 49, Range 33, being part of the 40-acre tract conveyed on April 5, 1834, by Pierre Laliberte and Eleonora Chalefoux, his wife, to Benedict Roux, and reserved by him in his deed of transfer to Francis Mumblo.

The above mentioned ten acres is the land between Broadway and Summit, and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, Kansas City, Mo.

journeyed through Kansas City to St. Louis, where he persuaded the Jesuits to take charge of the Indians whom he was forced to abandon. Father Petit, unable to continue his journey to Vincennes Diocese, died at St. Louis. In 1839, Rev. Father Christian Hoecken, S.J., went from St. Louis, through Kansas City, to Sugar Creek Indian Territory, to take charge of these Indians. In 1839 "Westport Landing" was chartered with municipal existence as the "Town of Kansas."

In 1841 (July 8), Mother Duchesne, superior of the Ladies of Sacred Heart, landed from a steamboat from St. Louis at Kansas City, having with her a community of said Ladies of the Sacred Heart, to establish schools among the Pottowattomies. They arrived at Sugar Creek on the nineteenth of July, 1841.

As before stated, Rev. Benedict Roux, who usually signed himself in his *Register of Baptisms* as Parish Priest of Kansas River, was transferred in 1835, to Kaskaskia, Ill. For six years after this, the Kansas River Parish was without a pastor, until 1841 when the Jesuits came and took charge of Westport, as a place of more importance than "Westport Landing" lately incorporated as the "Town of Kansas."

1841. Westport, Mo.; attended by Rev. Anthony Eisvogels, S.J., from Kickapoo village, Indian Territory.

1842. Westport, Mo.; attended by Rev. Felix Verreydt, S.J., from Pottowattomie village, Sugar Creek, Indian Territory.

1842. In the month of June, Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Bishop of Drasa, Coadjutor to Bishop Rosati, passed through Kansas City and Westport, on his journey to administer confirmation to the Pottowattomie Indians at Sugar Creek, Indian Territory.

In 1842, John C. Fremont, on June 10, began his exploring expedition by setting out from Kansas City for the Rocky Mountains. When leaving Kansas City, looking westward, he said: "This is the key to the great territory west of us." While preparing for his journey, Colonel Fremont and his wife and his father-in-law, Col. Thomas Hart Benton, made their headquarters at the residence of Col. William M. Chick, built in the then fashionable residence quarter of the town, between Main Street and Grand Avenue, and between Second Street and the Missouri River.

1843. Westport, Mo.; attended by Rev. Anthony Eisvogels, S.J.; Church of St. John Francis Regis. This church was erected in 1842.

1844. Westport, Mo.; Church of St. John Francis Regis. Attended by Rev. Peter Verhaegen, S.J.

1845. F. X. Aubrey, principal freighter of merchandise between Kansas City and Santa Fe, rode 800 miles, from the Plaza of Santa Fe to Kansas City, in four days; thereby making the route famous, and opening the way for the "Pony Express," and the "Overland Lines" of railway that were soon to traverse the plains of the "Great American Desert."

1845. Westport, Mo.; Church of St John Francis Regis, attended by Rev. Anthony Eisvogels, S.J., from St. Joseph, Mo.

1846. Westport Mo.; Church of St. John Francis Regis, attended by Jesuit Fathers from Pottowattomie Village, Sugar Creek, Indian Territory.

Among the priests, who labored on the Kansas City Mission in early days, Rev. Father Bernard Donnelly holds a notable place. He was born on the twenty-ninth of June, 1810, at Kilnacreevy. County Cavan, Ireland. Having passed through the primary schools of his neighborhood, he spent four years studying classics and civil engineering. With the tide of emigration he left Ireland and landed at New York in June, 1839. He left New York and travelled westward to Athens, Ohio, where he called on Mr. McGuffy, president of the Ohio State University. After a rigorous examination, Mr. McGuffy gave Mr Donnelly high testimonials of capacity as teacher. From Athens, Ohio, Mr. Donnelly travelled still farther westward, to St. Mary's Seminary, Barrens, Perry County, Mo., where he was appointed Professor of Greek and the higher mathematics. When not occupied in teaching, Mr. Donnelly was studying theology and acquiring the varied knowledge necessary for the priesthood. The purpose of his life was attained, when he was called from St. Mary's Seminary to St. Louis, where on the seventeenth of May, 1845, he was ordained Priest, in the St. Louis Cathedral, by Right Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, Bishop of St. Louis. Without delay he was appointed resident pastor of Independence, Mo., which place had been attended since 1841 as an outmission by the Jesuit Fathers residing at Westport. And as it would seem, Kansas City must have been added as a mission to Independence, under Father Donnelly's jurisdiction, for he says in one of his newspaper publications: "On my arrival at Westport Landing, now Kansas City, in 1845, I was glad to find a log church and parsonage on the lot."

In 1847, after the Jesuits had left Westport, Rev. Bernard Donnelly resided at the "Town of Kansas" of which he was pastor. This accords with the statement given in the *United States Catholic Almanac* as follows: "1847; Kansas, Jackson County, Mo.; Church of St Francis Regis; attended by Rev. B. Donnelly, who resides at Kansas." This, however, must have been but a temporary arrangement, as would appear from the following report of the mission in the *United States Catholic Almanac;* "1848, Kansas, Jackson County, Mo.; Rev. A. Saunier."

In 1849 (September), Rev. A. Saunier was transferred from Kansas, Jackson County, Mo., to Little Canada and Valle's Mines in St. Genevieve County, Mo.

In 1849 (October), Rev. Bernard Donnelly took charge of Kansas City Mission, which he attended from Independence, where he resided. At or about this time, the Right Rev. Edward Barron, D.D., Bishop of Upper and Lower Guinea, Africa, on his return to the United States, where he had formerly resided, visited Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis. Bishop Barron, by request of Archbishop Kenrick, went to Independence, where Father Donnelly was pastor, and administered confirmation there. Accompanied by Father Donnelly he went from Independence to the "Town of Kansas" and there likewise administered confirmation.

On November 1, 1847, the noted missionary and traveller among the wild Indian Tribes, Father De Smet, S.J., was a guest of Father Donnelly at this place (*i. e.*, the log cabin in the Town of Kansas). (*History of Kansas City*, by Theo. S. Case. Page 19.)

1852. First Protestant Church erected in Kansas City, on Fifth Street, between Delaware and Wyandotte Streets, Rev. Alfred H Powel, pastor.

1852. The "Moore School" commenced at or near Sixteenth and Wyandotte Streets, as afterwards laid out.

1853. "Town of Kansas" changed its name into "City of Kansas."

1853. Col. Thomas Hart Benton, United States Senator for Missouri, invited by the Kansas City Town Council, visited Kansas City. In his speech to the people of Kansas City, Colonel Benton said of the site of Kansas City: "There, Gentlemen, where the rocky bluff meets and turns aside the sweeping current of this mighty river; there, where the Missouri, after running its southward course for nearly two thousand miles, turns eastward to the Mississippi, a large commercial manufacturing community will congregate, and less than a generation will see a great city on these hills."

1854. Municipal government established in Kansas City, under charter granted by the Missouri Legislature in 1853.

1857. Rev. Bernard Donnelly transferred from Independence, located permanently at Kansas City.

1857. The log church, built by Father Roux in 1834, is superseded by a brick church of dimensions 70 by 30 feet, built by Father Donnelly, West of Broadway, between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets. The church stood on the middle of the block with front entrance towards Broadway. Adjacent to a little sacristy and belfry in the rear of the church, was Father Donnelly's modest residence of four rooms, built in irregular style, one room at a time: and near by the sexton's two-story house of two rooms, one room over the other.

VERY REV. WILLIAM KEUENHOF, V.G.,
Kansas City, Mo.

DOCUMENTS

ARCHBISHOP JOHN HUGHES

American Envoy to France (1861)

The Most Reverend John Hughes, to whom was entrusted the important international mission to be seen in the annexed photographed copy of the letter of William H. Seward, Secretary of State at the time, was a remarkable churchman and endowed with extraordinary parts. Whether we regard him as an ecclesiastic or as a citizen, he will always stand in the front rank of the great men of his adopted country and of the world. Living and dying in stirring times, it was providential for Church and State that John Hughes occupied the post he did. He was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, June 24, 1797.[1] He came to the United States as a young man of twenty in 1817. In Ireland he had succeeded with much difficulty in acquiring an education, and after his arrival in America, with a courage that was little short of heroic, he managed gradually to add to his store of knowledge until he was admitted in 1819 into Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. There the ardent student's progress was remarkable.[2] He was raised to the priesthood on October 15, 1826, by Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia, in old St. Joseph's Church, and was sent to St. Augustine's Church in that city. Later he became pastor of St. Joseph's.[3] In this new field of labor Father Hughes' tireless energy, his industry and love of study, combined with his great gifts of mind, soon caused him to be recognized as one of the coming lights of the Church in America. His early life as a priest was cast in a period of turmoil and of deep-rooted religious prejudice; but with a strong character that knew no fear, the young clergyman, from the day of his ordination, grappled boldly with the problems which confronted him and attained a success that foretold a brilliant future. His theological controversies, all of which were forced upon him and in all of which he was the victor, were indeed numerous. The historic religious controversy which he had in 1835 with the Reverend John A. Breckenridge, a distinguished non-Catholic divine, served perhaps more than anything else in his early priesthood to reveal Father Hughes' remarkable ability, as well as to draw the attention of the country towards him, and to win him a wide circle of admirers.

On January 7, 1838, Father Hughes was consecrated Coadjutor-Bishop of New York. Four years later he became its fourth Ordinary, and in 1850 its first Metropolitan. In New York he found a sphere of activity at once broader and better suited to the display of his talents, and he was quickly acknowledged as one of the country's leading churchmen, and as one of the intellectual giants

---

[1] Cf. HASSARD, *Life of John Hughes*. New York, 1866. BRANN, *Life of John Hughes*. New York, 1892. *Works of John Hughes*, published by Kehoe, in two volumes. New York, 1888.

[2] MCSWEENY, *The Story of the Mountain*, Vol. i, pp. 89, 99, 126; Vol. ii, pp. 11–12, 41, 108. Emmitsburg, 1911.

[3] KIRLIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, pp. 256, 261, 274, 276. Philadelphia, 1909.

of his age. No less patriotic than religious, he took a keen interest in all the questions, religious and civic, which occupied the public mind of the United States. The part he played in the correction of the school system of the city of New York and the bold, effective stand he took against the Native American party in 1844, and the Know-nothing Party in 1854, can never be forgotten by those imbued with the true spirit and genius of our great American republic.

The great Archbishop's singular gifts of mind and heart, together with his uncompromising Catholic spirit, his intense patriotism and deep love for America, kept him prominent also in all social movements. No man of his day, in fact, possessed a more statesmanlike grasp of the genius and democratic spirit of the American commonwealth. Even when the very existence of its institutions was threatened, his confidence was unshaken. He looked upon the Republic as the refuge and the home of those fleeing from oppression, persecution, and poverty in other lands. That this home might be the happier, that the Republic might be more prosperous, and its institutions and its spirit more secure, that here the barriers of national prejudices might be levelled, and the people moulded into one homogeneous nation, he devoted, without thought of honor or of recompense, all his rare powers of oratory, his talents as a controversialist, his ability as a writer, and his commanding genius as a leader of men.

The great Archbishop's utter fearlessness, his towering character, his profound patriotism, and his extraordinary mental endowments won him the confidence and intimate friendship of many of the most distinguished men of his day; while they compelled the respect and commanded the admiration, if not the love, of those who felt the weight of his opposition. In 1846, President Polk proffered the gifted churchman a diplomatic mission to Mexico which he could not accept. In 1847, at the invitation of John C. Calhoun and Stephen A. Douglas, he lectured before Congress in the National Capitol. During the Civil War (1861–65) he spared no effort to conserve our national integrity. His useful suggestions and wise counsel on the conduct of the war were highly appreciated by President Lincoln. "I submit your letters to the President," Seward writes on October 12, 1861, "and he reads all you write to me with deep interest." Hughes' correspondence with Lincoln is still preserved in the *Dunwoodie Archives*. It was in consequence of this correspondence of the war, that the Catholic Archbishop was called to Washington by Secretary Seward in October, 1861, and entrusted with the important commission revealed in the following letter, the original of which is carefully kept in the *Dunwoodie Archives*.

(*Transcription*) Department of State,
Washington, Nov. 2, 1861.

To His Grace
Archbishop Hughes.

Sir:

You will repair to Paris and will deliver to Mr. Dayton[4] the despatch herewith handed to you. You will, on your way thither, make yourself master of the contents thereof by reading the copy which is confidentially entrusted to you.[5] You

[4] William Lewis Dayton (1807–64) was United States Minister to France from 1861–1864.

[5] This copy (37 pp.), dated Department of State, Washington, October 30, 1861, from Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton, still exists among the *Hughes MSS.* at Dunwoodie Seminary.

will confer with Mr. Dayton upon the subject, and explain to him verbally my views in desiring the fullest attainable knowledge of the dispositions of the French Government, whether friendly or otherwise, and especially its views on the several questions set forth in my despatch. At the same time you will be expected to do this in the most confidential manner, deferring in all cases to Mr. Dayton's judgment, and acting as auxiliary to him only at his cheerful request, and only to the extent that he thinks your relations and associations in Paris and in Europe may enable you to be useful to him.

He will be expected to receive you as a trusted, confidential, loyal and devoted citizen, who assumes this duty at much sacrifice to himself, and only on the earnest request of the President of the United States, upon mature conviction of its importance resulting from a conference with his advisers.

While in Paris, you will study how, in conjunction with Mr. Dayton, you can promote healthful opinions concerning the great cause in which our country is now engaged in arms. You will extend your visit to any part of Europe you may think proper, and will consider yourself at liberty to stay until recalled.[8]

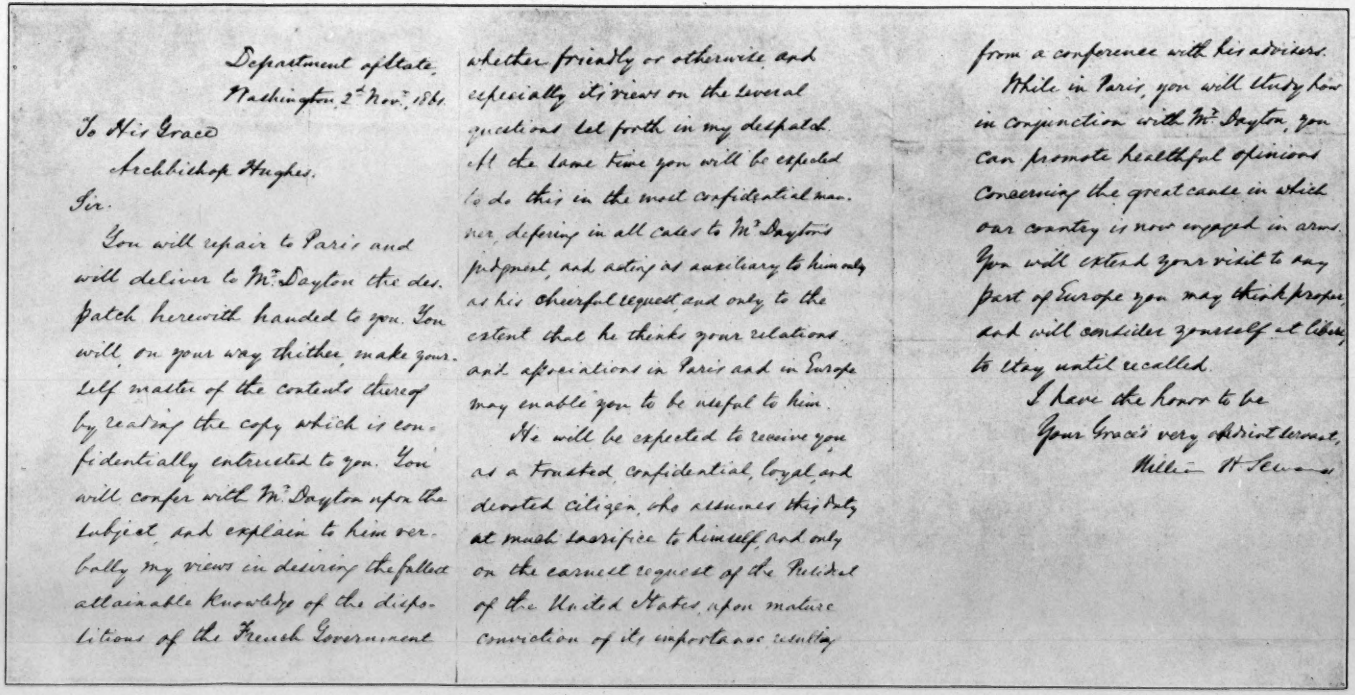
I have the honor to be

Your Grace's very obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

It was largely through the Archbishop's efforts that France was prevented from following in the footsteps of England, and throwing the weight of her sympathies with the Confederate States. Wherever he traveled in Europe, he was accorded an honorable reception. He left nothing undone to promote the cause of the Union, and did much to enlist the sympathies of the Old World in the preservation of the American Republic. Again, at the time of the draft riots in the city of New York in 1863, his services were requested by Governor Horatio Seymour to quiet the disorders. Although much broken in health, the patriotic Metropolitan readily accepted the call to duty, and addressed the excited people with good effect. This was one of his last public acts; from that time he rapidly declined in health until the day of his death, January 3, 1864. In all his public deeds, however, the great Catholic Archbishop but followed the teachings of his Church, doing for his own country on the patriotic scale afforded him by his own superior talents, what his confreres have always done the world over.

[8] Archbishop Hughes left Paris, February, 1862, and visited Ireland, where his presence aroused an intense enthusiasm for the North. Later in the same month he went to Rome, where he had the opportunity of informing Pius IX and Cardinal Antonelli of the true state of affairs in America. On leaving Rome he set out for Spain, but his health prevented him from reaching Madrid. Later he travelled through France and England, and preached at the laying of the corner-stone of the Catholic University of Dublin, on July 20, 1862. He sailed early from Queenstown in August for New York, and arrived there on August 12. "On the archbishop's arrival, the whole city turned out to greet him. The municipal authorities presented him with congratulatory addresses. After a few days' rest he went to Washington. There he was invited to dinner by Secretary Seward. The day fixed for the dinner was Friday, and the Archbishop suggested that it was not a good day for a banquet. 'Never mind,' said the secretary, 'I shall see that you will be provided for.' When the very large and distinguished company met in the dining hall, there was no meat of any kind on the table. All were compelled to eat fish. The Archbishop often said that this was the most delicate compliment ever paid to him. Mr. Lincoln's Government soon after intimated to the Holy See that it would be pleased if the Archbishop, who had done so much for the country, should be raised to the dignity of cardinal." BRANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–66.



Department of State,
Washington 2d Nov. 1861.

To His Grace
Archbishop Hughes.

Sir.

You will repair to Paris and will deliver to Mr. Dayton the despatch herewith handed to you. You will on your way thither, make yourself master of the contents thereof by reading the copy which is confidentially entrusted to you. You will confer with Mr. Dayton upon the subject, and explain to him verbally my views in desiring the fullest attainable knowledge of the dispositions of the French Government whether friendly or otherwise and especially its views on the several questions set forth in my despatch. At the same time you will be expected to do this in the most confidential manner, deferring in all cases to Mr. Dayton's judgment, and acting as auxiliary to him only as his cheerful request, and only to the extent that he thinks your relations and associations in Paris and in Europe may enable you to be useful to him.

We will be expected to receive you as a trusted, confidential, loyal, and devoted citizen, who assumes this duty at much sacrifice to himself, and only on the earnest request of the President of the United States, upon mature conviction of its importance resulting from a conference with his advisers.

While in Paris, you will study how in conjunction with Mr. Dayton, you can promote healthful opinions concerning the great cause in which our country is now engaged in arms. You will extend your visit to any part of Europe you may think proper, and will consider yourself at liberty to stay until recalled.

I have the honor to be
Your Grace's very obedient servant,
William H. Seward

SECRETARY SEWARD TO ARCHBISHOP HUGHES, NOVEMBER 2, 1861.

His correspondence with Mr. Seward was an extensive one, as can be seen from the numerous letters of the Secretary of State still preserved in the Archdiocesan Archives of New York, at Dunwoodie Seminary. From their general tenor, the choice of the Archbishop to offset the influence of Mason and Slidell, who had already gone to Europe as Commissioners of the Confederate States, is not at all surprising. The honor conferred upon him by his country was fully justified, and the story of his mission, with the details of his interviews with French statesmen, and particularly with Napoleon III and the Empress, will always be a vital part of the history of the Civil War.

V. F. O'D.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Scotch-Irish in America. By Henry Jones Ford. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915. Pp. 607.

From the pen of a university instructor one expects a serious and scholarly book. This volume by Dr. Ford is a valuable contribution to American history. It briefly suggests the extent of Irish Presbyterian influence in shaping the institutions of the United States, in establishing their independence, and subsequently, both in peace and war, in promoting their welfare. In examining his monograph, Professor Ford will pardon us for commencing with a consideration of the last chapter instead of the first. This method may possess advantages, or it may signify nothing more than the eccentricity of the reviewer. At any rate, it will relieve of their obscurity some facts which should be made clear. In this inquiry it will appear: that Ulster is not the native land of Irish genius; that its material supremacy is undoubted; that the reasons therefor are too clear to be subjects for discussion; that in Ireland, Ulster's leaders have been the chief ornament and support of tyranny; that, not content with seizing the lands of the natives, the invaders have robbed the vanquished of their good name. When the victim is made contemptible, injustice resembles a virtue. At any rate, the injured are only the wicked and the weak.

In America the Irish Presbyterian element is seen to better advantage. The achievements of the men of that stock have been exceedingly numerous and exceedingly noteworthy. They have been more gifted, more genial, and more tolerant than their Ulster kinsmen. It is this more sunny part of the Scotch-Irish world that Professor Ford has described. With this statement of opinions, the remarks of the reviewer will be more intelligible.

"From time to time," says Dr. Ford, "objections have been raised to the term 'Scotch-Irish.'" In his *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, John Fiske says:

The name Scotch-Irish is an awkward compound, and is in many quarters condemned. Curiously enough, there is no one who seems to object to it so strongly as the Irish Catholic. While his feelings toward the "Far-Downer" are certainly not affectionate, he is, nevertheless, anxious to claim him with his deeds and trophies, as simply Irish, and grudges to Scotland the claim to any share in producing him. It must be admitted, however, that there is a point of view from which the Scotch-Irish may be regarded as more Scotch than Irish. The difficulty might be compromised by calling them Ulstermen, or Ulster Presbyterians.

The last name, Ulster Presbyterians, is liable to as few objections as any. It may be that Dr. Ford had good reasons for not adopting it. Perhaps, too, he has examined Pellew's *Castle and Cabin* and for some reason feared to quote from it. Yet in parts it is closely connected with this book. As literature, it is true, Pellew's work is poor stuff, but he speaks from an abundance of feeling untrammeled by the restraints of rhetoric or of truth. With apologies to connoisseurs in form, we give the following excerpt from his *Castle and Cabin*: "Here in Ulster we have nine counties as prosperous as any in the land. We are an energetic, honest race, very different from the south of Ireland people. The successful Irishmen in America are chiefly of Irish-Scotch descent. The southern Irish are born politicians and form a clique in every city. The farmers, too, on the hills and mountains, are very ignorant and brutal. . . ." Though no anthropologist has ever reported the discovery at Portadown of any vestige of former Indian occupation, this is an exquisite imitation of a war-whoop. Mr. Pellew, who would warn his readers against Home Rule, boasts of Ulster's prowess and prosperity, and in the very accents of the Pharisee cries aloud: "O God, I thank thee that I am not as the rest of men. . . ." Of course, his province *is* in a flourishing state. Was it not for generations favored by special laws? And is it not still enjoying the benefits of ancestral plunder?

Mr. Pellew informs us that Ulstermen are "an energetic, honest race, very different from the south of Ireland people." Passing without observation the cowardly implications in this assertion, it is admitted by economists and historians that the right to retain a just share of the wealth produced, always begets both abundance and industry. In other lands the Celtic Irish work no less diligently than their neighbors, but in those favored

countries there are no landlords to exploit labor. Thanks to English and not to Ulster leaders, the greedy race will soon be gone.

"The successful Irishmen in America," adds Pellew, "are chiefly of Irish-Scotch descent." The reader is to infer a connection between character and high exploit, and to understand that the success of the "Irish-Scotch" is due to the superior merits of their faith. If one consider the fact that the power of Protestant America, social, religious, and political, is certain to support the Presbyterian immigrant from Ulster, one would be surprised to find any of his ventures ending in failure. Do the agricultural industrial, commercial, and political interests of America likewise rally to the support of the Irish? The farmer, the entrepreneur, the merchant, and the statesman can make answer. In our time when one applies for a position, subaltern or even menial, one often meets the inquiry, "What is your religion?" Is this a request for information on which there is later to be made a statistical report, or is it merely an item in the category of efficiency? Though the fact is not generally known, and I relate it in confidence, it is actually a barrier against Shintoists, having been designed as a measure of precaution against the entrance into our service of those abandoned people who worship their ancestors. The inquiry looks not to Dublin but to Yeddo.

Without an oppressive feeling of inferiority, we Celts could concede the accuracy of the statement that "the successful Irishmen in America are chiefly of Irish-Scotch descent." But its arrogance and craft encourage a denial. These are not the emblems of sincerity. If by success is meant material prosperity or good fortune, we yield the point, for, as already explained, there are in our country mighty forces that support the Presbyterian Irish. Several of that stock have attained to even the Presidency. While our written Constitution does not exclude from this office citizens of Irish Catholic ancestry, the unwritten constitution does. It also effectively operates to prevent their easy entrance into cabinets. Yet little men of other creeds, or of no creed, are deemed fit to preside in any department.

Leaving for a moment the distribution of high Federal honors, how are favors bestowed in the ample field of education? To be of Irish Catholic descent is generally a guarantee that one's

application for even a minor teaching position will fail. So well known is this fact that few of the race qualify for duties which they may never be privileged to perform. In brief, in the matter of worldly prosperity or good fortune, Irish-Americans are not conspicuous. If by success is meant noteworthy achievement, the record is much more favorable. In Ireland the men of genius have been, almost without exception, Anglo-Irish or Celtic-Irish, Of the statesmen sent to colonial America, two of the ablest. Col. Thomas Dongan and Sir William Johnson, were Irish. In worth and foresight the former had no superior. In the war for independence, Celtic-Irish and Anglo-Irish officers rendered services of value. On land there were such men as Gen. John Sullivan, Gen. George Clinton, and Gen. James Clinton, while on sea there were the O'Briens of Machias, and Captain, afterward Commodore, John Barry. In Congress there were statesmen like Carroll of Carrollton, Aedanus Burke, and his Galway kinsman, Thomas Burke. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 there were Celtic and Anglo-Celtic Irish. We may mention Thomas FitzSimons, the grandfather of General Meade, also Daniel Carroll, and Pierce Butler.

The years of peace and reconstruction found in America economists of the prominence of Mathew Carey and his more distinguished son, Henry Charles Carey, Matthew Lyon, soldier and statesman, William Duane, Dewitt Clinton and William J. Duane.

In the second war with England, American naval prowess was illustrated by Capt. Thomas MacDonough, whose victory at Plattsburg had important consequences. During the weak, piping time of peace the services of the Irish were in no great request. In 1844 and 1855 the Know Nothings assailed the integrity of Irish Catholics, but these ulcers of the body politic were burned away in the flames of civil war. When the battle flags were furled, they reappeared.

In the Union ranks there were enough Irish to make, by the standard of that day, several large armies. It will be necessary to name but a few of the more distinguished commanders, such as Kearney, Mulligan, Meagher, Shields, and Sheridan. These will favorably compare with Birney, McDowell, the McCooks, and McClellan.

When the storm of war was hushed, the members of the American Protective Association shouldered arms, and drove the Celt to the walks of private life. In 1898, during the short war with Spain, John Patrick Holland offered to serve our Government with his submarine, but his assistance was declined. Shade of Royal Oak!

> "And far below the Roundhead rode,
> And humm'd a surly hymn."

Viscount Bryce, too, held the opinion that the Irish formed cliques in American cities and were responsible for much municipal corruption. Legislative inquiries, however, disclosed facts more complimentary; then the diplomat stole from his repast. Late at the banquet hall, Pellew enjoys a jackal's feast.

As managed by the author of *Castle and Cabin*, Pegasus curvets frightfully. From American cities, defiled by Celts, the rider, in one mighty leap, alights either in Connemara or Knockmeildown. Bellerophon himself held not so firm a seat. "The farmers, too, on the hills and mountains, are very ignorant and brutal. . . ." This is not, as the juxtaposition would lead one to suppose, a reference to American farmers. In fact, it is not a description of the class of farmers anywhere, but a spectre raised to frighten those Presbyterians who, from either generosity or indolence, might trust their interests to the fairness of a Dublin parliament. Not for generations have these goblins alarmed any Protestants outside of Ulster. Indeed the deities of the Irish household are chiefly Protestant, yet to them the Irish Catholic is constant in his devotion. A little exertion would enable one to prepare on the subject of Irish limitations a diversified anthology of malevolent libel. If this dreary tract had been explored by John Fiske, he would not have been surprised at the lack of Irish Catholic affection for Ulster Presbyterians.

The evident reply to another observation of Fiske is, that the Irish are not singular in claiming for their native land the achievements of all her sons. In the opinion of the reviewer this is a human, not an Irish characteristic. American authors who record the deeds of their countrymen, do not confine themselves to Mormon, to Christian Science or to Lutheran worthies.

In classifying the Irish and the "Scotch-Irish" as two distinct race stocks, Senator Lodge has some authority to support him,

but the question is far more intricate than that. He is still less accurate in the statement that during the colonial period "people of pure Irish stock came scarcely at all." This theme is not to be examined in a paragraph, but it may be noticed hereafter.

In the eventful years that have passed since 1609, when the Scots began to settle in Ulster, there have been in Ireland in considerable number, orators and statesmen, poets and historians, critics and scientists. From Richard Stanyhurst down to Bernard Shaw, there has been a long and brilliant line of authors. With one or two exceptions they have been either Celtic-Irish or Anglo-Irish. Fiske to the contrary, Irishmen are not accustomed to boast of the achievements of the Ulster Scot. The Irish feeling for Scotland, however, is very different. Caledonia has been the fruitful mother of philosophers, orators, scientists, historians, economists, poets, and heroes. In a word, it has been the home of the lettered and the brave. Why, then, the dearth of noble natures in Scottish Ulster? The invaders were not dragged down by the natives, for they knew the "wild Irish" but to despoil them, to fight them, to mock them. Tyrannous hate destroyed the finer feelings of the Scottish settler and chilled the current of his soul. His fancy spent its force in schemes of lawless gain. Therefore it is that sterility has been the inheritance of the son for the guilt of the sire.

Though the "Scotch-Irish" have had slight contact with genius, they have yet by their ability as men of business, given to the older Irish, impoverished by tribal, by Danish, and by Anglo-Norman warfare, a shining example of efficient methods of business. In commerce and in manufacturing the "Scotch-Irish" of Ulster have gone far ahead of the rest of their countrymen. But the fact should not be overlooked that they have long been assisted by a friendly Parliament. If the other provinces had been similarly aided, or if they had merely been neglected, the industrial and commercial supremacy of Ulster would be greatly diminished. For man's weal or woe on earth, the most potent force in shaping his material life is government. Under nearly every form the races have advanced in civilization, but not under every kind of government.

To Americans in general the term "Scotch-Irish" has a favorable connotation, while the unqualified word "Irish" has a

connotation decidedly uncomplimentary. A citizen of Irish ancestry who does a deed of note is expected to be "Scotch-Irish" and often is so described. If, on the other hand, his feat did not become a god, he is reported to be simply "Irish." Knowing that at home his Presbyterian friend from Ulster has no more superiority than that conferred by statute and by profession of the dominant creed, the mere Irishman denies that his more favored countrymen possess uncommon merits, and resents their claim to superiority. It is not that he is offended by his neighbor's attachment to silver, by his reverence for the memory of John Knox, or because of differences of race, whether these be considerable or inconsiderable. In Ireland the Ulster Scot has always been the champion of the oppressor.

The reader of Professor Ford's book receives the impression that the Scottish occupation of Ulster was a process as gentle as the fall of summer rain. The fact is that it was filled with tragedy. The author believes that the making of better arrangements was then not easy to see. Bacon is quoted to show that *he* did not know a wiser way. But the brightest and meanest of mankind had opinions to suit his sordid day, and others to gain him credit with posterity. Probably he had this consideration in mind when, in his essay, *Of Plantations*, he wrote: "I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where the people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation." Before the year 1603 the conquest had extended to all Ireland. The success of Elizabeth's forces had been accomplished by murder, massacre, and deliberately created famine. These, with instances of rare treachery, made up the woof of victory. But yet to come was the grand minister of misfortune.

The Reformation had been rejected by the Irish universally, and by the people of English descent generally. As between the English and the Irish this effaced the distinctions of race. The two elements were afterward fused by oppression. The recent arrivals in Ulster, however, were Protestants, and were supported by the government of England. Thus was introduced into Ireland an element of discord that has defeated every attempt at unity. The reign of James I, under the pretext of Protestantism,

was marked by the commission of grave crimes against Ireland. There was not, indeed, complete extirpation, for a miserable remnant of the natives fled to mountain fastnesses, or sought a refuge in almost inaccessible bogs.

Under Charles I iniquitous laws replaced the sword. The soldier was superseded by the judge. Booty and plunder became known as forfeiture and confiscation. By the new tribunals, which inquired into defective titles, jurors refusing to give a verdict for the King were ruined by excessive fines or cast into loathsome prisons. Charles received in three provinces, as the spoils of the people, 1,000,000 arable acres.

Chichester, Davies, Spenser, and Bacon, the witnesses examined by Dr. Ford, are as credible as any. But they had not made the cycle of Irish history. In the Ulster of our day there are many men who would make similar reports. Yet the testimony furnishes an imperfect story. There are important aspects of the occupation that are untouched. Under Professor Ford's plan, the emphasis is, of course, placed on the experience of the Scotch-Irish in America. Of their sojourn in Ireland he has given a somewhat rapid and fairly reliable sketch, but he has seldom taken the point of view of the natives. Yet this is not unimportant.

The harsh treatment which forced tens of thousands of Ulster Presbyterians to migrate to America is admirably described by the author. His account of their early settlements is interesting and accurate. The story related by him makes clear their anti-English feeling at the time of the Revolution, when the great majority, thinking on the treatment of their ancestors, favored independence. For the war the Ulster Irish furnished many of the most resolute soldiers. To the subsequent development of the United States, men of this stock have made contributions significant and scarcely surpassed. Whether one regard education, law, commerce, agriculture, social organization or statesmanship, the record is the same.

Appendix A, from the account of Fynes Moryson, presents the Irish of the year 1600 as a rude and barbarous people, not much, if at all superior to the Indians that, a little later, the English met at Jamestown. But Moryson describes incidents

far more revolting than the filth, the coarseness, and the ignorance of the Irish. Why has the author failed to give an excerpt setting forth the superior refinement of the English? Is not Moryson a source of our information concerning the destruction of crops, year after year, and literally the depopulation of Munster? He declares that "No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of the towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people, the Irish, dead, with their mouths all colored green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above ground." Multitudes of dead with no one to bury them! From military tactics to table manners, the English had learned many things from the Italians of the Renaissance, but in all their intercourse with that enlightened people they seem to have acquired little humanity.

Dr. Ford's object in adding to his book the quotations from Moryson is not at all apparent. Even if, in point of accuracy, the account be photographic, it but the more strongly shows the incapacity of English statesmen and the inhumanity of English soldiers, for when his author trod the dolorous vales of Munster, much of Ireland had for more than four hundred years been cursed by alien rule. Wretchedness, despair, and death, a grisly troop, followed the victors into Eden. A score of years before Moryson described that forlorn people, Edmund Spenser, from Kilcolman Castle, had been struck by the beauty and the resources of meadow, lake, and stream. In immortal verse he who taught the Mulla's waves to weep, has sung of nature's bounty, "the great heaps of salmon," in the deep bosom of the Barrow.

Are the quoted parts of Moryson's description included in order to justify the harshness of the invader? We have no means of knowing. The conquest progressed until every Celt had passed under the yoke. Thenceforth, through the sinister centuries, the subjugated race toiled on to pamper the lords of wine and oil.

It is much to be regretted that Professor Ford has not examined and reported on the printed proceedings of the Scotch-Irish conventions. His estimate of the spirit of those writings would be interesting and would have improved what we consider the ablest work on this useful element in our state.

Early Days at Council Bluffs. By Charles H. Babbitt. Illustrated. Washington, D. C.: Press of Byron S. Adams, 1916. Pp. 96.

A path must be blazed by the special student and investigator through a great mass of unpublished documentary material bearing on the history of the Mississippi Valley, if conditions are ever to be ripe for some future historian to take up the story of that section of the United States and tell it, after the manner of a Macaulay or a Parkman, with an abundance of accurate, picturesque detail and on a scale proportionate to the vastness of the theme. Over and over again, the general historian will find his way blocked by a dearth of special studies on obscure, debatable points which he cannot, for lack of time or access to the necessary sources, clear up for himself. Thus we find Milo Milton Quaife, than whom no one has dealt in more scholarly fashion with early Chicago history, noting regretfully the absence of any thoroughgoing study from the sources of the old Chicago-Desplaines River portage, a vitally important topic for one who attempts to follow the early history-makers of Northern Illinois in their journeys of exploration or missionary propaganda. Hence, as Professor Clarence W. Alvord has pointed out, the great desideratum today in the field of Mississippi Valley history, is a series of scholarly monographs on special topics involving minute, painstaking and accurate examination of the sources.

Mr. Charles H. Babbitt's *Early Days at Council Bluffs* is, we take it, one of that type of historical monographs which Professor Alvord calls for. It takes up for detailed, intensive study, such points connected with pioneer Council Bluffs history, as the date of arrival of the first Pottowatomie bands, the withdrawal of the Pottowatomies in the late forties to their new reservation in Kansas Territory, the location of Fort Croghan, the date of construction, the location and general appearance of the "Old Blockhouse," transformed in 1838 into a Jesuit mission-chapel where Catholic services were held for the first time on the site of Council Bluffs. No other published account that the reviewer is acquainted with, covers these topics with anything like the accuracy and, at times, finality that mark Mr. Babbitt's treatment.

Two features in particular of the author's method call for commendation. First, he has consistently applied to the growth of uncertain local traditions and "old settlers" gossip in which he found his subject involved, the touchstone of the contemporary historical document, as far as such was available; and secondly, for a considerable number of the documents drawn on he has gone to a source of supply, which, in view of its extraordinary richness in manuscript material bearing on early Western history, has been utilized by surprisingly few students and investigators—the files of the Indian Office in Washington. Only here and there among students of American history, as in Anne Heloise Abel's *Proposals for an Indian State*, 1778–1878, has resort been had to this great storehouse of documentary sources, not only for Indian tribal history, but also for the civil and ecclesiastical beginnings of our early Western settlements.

Mr. Babbitt's failure to find corroboration in contemporary records for Father De Smet's account of the sinking of a Missouri river steamer some miles below Council Bluffs towards the end of April, 1839 (p. 56), is fortunately not due to a complete lack of the corroborative evidence sought for. The *Missouri Republican*, under date of May 6, 1839, reported the recent snagging and loss, seven miles below Council Bluffs, of the steamboat *Pirate*, at a place and time, therefore, coincident with the wreck described by Father De Smet.

We commend Mr. Babbitt's brochure for a very painstaking and accurate piece of historical research, just the kind of historical research that must be carried on by hundreds of other bands working on similar themes, if the material for the history of the Mississippi Valley is to be brought to that stage of cultivation, so to speak, where the general historian can begin to utilize it with satisfactory results.

Life and Letters of Fathers Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission. Sketch of St. Francis Church. Life of Mother Briget. By W. W. Graves. Published by the author at St. Paul, Kansas, 1916. Pp. 268.

This collection of historical sketches contains the biographies of the first missionaries who visited Southeastern Kansas a hun-

dred years ago. Chief among these were the well-known Jesuits, Father Paul Ponziglione, whom the author knew, Fathers Van Quickenborne, Shoenmakers, and Bax. The "Apostle of Southeastern Kansas," as Father Ponziglione was known, had in his own way almost as thrilling a life of adventure as his illustrious confrère, Father De Smet. Like all true missionaries, these pioneer Jesuits have written their names indelibly upon the pages of American civilization. They could go where no other white man would have been safe, and their deeds in consequence have been heralded by writers and poets as among the most notable of our country's history. The author has given us a collection of sources for the beginnings of Kansas, and his volume will be welcomed by all who are interested in the history of that important state. It is regrettable that the book is so poorly printed and that it is without an Index.

The Life of George Washington, the Father of Modern Democracy. By the Very Rev. James O'Boyle. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915. Pp. xviii+362.

This work has been returned to us as unworthy of a serious review. The volume is Father O'Boyle's second effort in American History, and we earnestly hope it will be his last. It would be indeed a deplorable thing to present American history to so sympathetic a reading public as that of Ireland in such sorry form. Apart from the typographical errors, which are abundant, the author's style is at times grotesquely puerile, and his method of presentation displays an amount of ignorance the equal of which would be hard to find. Examples of this abound, as in the following passage from the Introduction:

"The real, vital, conservative religious power in the States is the Catholic Church. She has falsified the old theory of her enemies that only under monarchy can she prosper. She shows to all that it is possible to be a dutiful subject under Republican rule and still a firm believer in the Catholic Creed and a loyal child and obedient to the Chair of Peter. She changes not with the novelties of scientists. Her code of doctrine and morals has unchanged from the days when Bishop Carroll ruled alone over the entire Union, and today men of every rank, Governors of

States and President of the nation freely acknowledge the loyalty of the Catholic Church to the Republic and the consistent support of Catholic pastors given to correct abuses and reform the moral of the people. And the names that are most revered over the Union by all denominations are Cardinal Gibbons and the great Bishop Ireland, staunch pillars of the Church and true Americans, and both sons of Holy Ireland."

Lovers of Longfellow's verse will not rejoice in this following misquotation of his celebrated lines:

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time:
Sailing o'er life's chequered main
Some forlorn or shipwrecked brother
Seeing may take heart again."

We read of "Morian and Sumpter" in the South; of Fort Du Quesne being named "after a French general of that name;" of "Padre" Marquette and "Ioliet;" of Governor "Dunweddie" —the spelling is uniform throughout; of the main body bringing "up the rere;" of "Lough" Erie; of Washington's consort, "Mrs. Custas;" of "Annanopolis;" of "Majors-General" and "Brigadiers-General;" of "Ethel" Allen, and a "yoke of four beautiful horses," and a host of other ludicrous blunders which make the book comic. Nathan Hale is an Irishman, because he came from Connecticut. The battle of "Germanstown" is a delightful piece of comedy. It is really too bad Father Prout is not alive; his review of this disgraceful parody would be classic. The book has no *Imprimatur* and no Index.

The Vassar Semi-Centennial Series. Brissot de Warville. A Story in the History of the French Revolution. By Aloise Ellery, Ph.D. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915. Pp. xix+528.

There are many reasons why this volume will be given a prominent place in American historical literature. Apart from the racy style, without which the book might have been a work of mere erudition, apart from the accurate scientific appa-

ratus upon which the author has built up this brilliant study of Brissot de Warville's life, her work is especially important, because it is the first biography of Brissot to appear in any language. If one considers the eminent rôle de Warville filled from the outbreak of the French Revolution down to the day of his execution in October, 1793, and the diversity of the activities he displayed as humanitarian, journalist, traveler, author and political leader, it is difficult at first sight to understand why his life has never been written. Miss Ellery explains this incongruity by the fact that the diverse sides of his career give it the appearance of lacking symmetry of design, without which no true biography can be attempted. She says, in addition, that his defeat as leader of the Girondin, in particular banished him from the stage of the French Revolution, and that his life is crowded with so many apparent inconsistencies, that it seemed impossible to look upon it as proceeding from any number of given principles.

Jacques Pierre Brissot was born at Chartres, on January 15, 1754. He was the son of humble parents, and through his mother's devotion received an education at the College of Chartres, where his attention was especially given to the study of Latin. At the age of fifteen, he left college and decided to take up the legal profession. Shortly afterwards, he began his studies under one of the best lawyers at Chartres. He soon felt sufficiently sure of his knowledge to publish a short treatise on Canon Law. His interests, however, were not confined solely to legal matters. He began studying the languages, and according to one writer he was a veritable prodigy in learning foreign tongues. He had been fostered and brought up in the Catholic Church; but owing to the influence of the circle in which he lived, he soon lost the Faith, and one of his earliest works is a savage attack on the Christian religion, written in a trenchant and dogmatic tone, which, as he tells us later in his *Memoirs*, had the effect of making the young women of his acquaintance rather afraid of him. His loss of Faith estranged him from his family and was the beginning of that long tragedy which ended with his own execution on the guillotine in Paris. As he himself has well expressed it: from that time he and his family had ceased to speak a common language. This religious difficulty made his home life unhappy, and he left Chartres for Paris. It was while he was still living at Chartres that he added to his name the

quasi-noble title of "de Warville"—the anglicized form of Ouarville, a little village near Chartres where his father possessed some property. He never hearkened to any criticism of this peculiar act, and continued to sign himself "de Warville" to the end of his life.

In 1774 he left Chartres, and the rest of his life, with brief intermissions, was spent at the capital, Paris. Later he became associate editor of a paper published in Boulogne, and it was during this period of his life at Boulogne that he met the young woman that was afterwards to become his wife—Félicité Dupont. His life up to that period was a series of disappointments, with hard times in his endeavor to make ends meet; and there is a touch of humor in Miss Ellery's description: ". . . in his discouragement and loneliness he began to think it would be a comfortable consolation to have a wife to share his troubles." It was at this juncture that he was called home by the last illness of his father, who died in 1779, and as he tells us himself, the softening influence of that occasion was marred by the presence of priests at his father's deathbed. He returned to Paris and began a career of political pamphleteering which brought him much notoriety. On September 17, 1782, he married Félicité Dupont, and it is her mother who alone seems to have had a restraining hand upon him during the rest of his life. His activity as a member of the Constituent Assembly, his conflict with the Convention, his arrest, trial and execution have less interest for the American reader than the chapter which treats of his travels in the United States. No man of his time was more enthusiastic over the young Republic. He admired practically everything in the States. He took a great interest in the Negro Problem, and in his volume *De la France et des Etats Unis*, he shows how profoundly he had studied the history of the origin of this country. There is no doubt now that the book was published as a means of bringing home to the French people the necessity of a French Revolution. He speaks of the commerce which should exist between the two nations, and shows very clearly that he foresaw how closely France and America would be united in the years to come. This increased his desire to make a journey to the United States, and finally in the Spring of 1788, Brissot set out on the *Cato*. After a voyage of fifty-one days, he arrived at Boston on July 24. As Miss Ellery tells us:

"It was to him a moment of supreme happiness. He was fleeing from despotism, and was about to enjoy the life of a people who were in the actual possession of that liberty and equality which everywhere else was regarded as a chimera. He was especially delighted to find himself in Boston, the first city to throw off the yoke of the English. He was charmed he declared, to see how different it was from the disagreeable, noisy whirlpool of Paris. He was especially impressed with the absence of that restless, busy seeking for pleasure which characterized his fellow countrymen." The scheme which Brissot had in mind or rather of which he was the French agent, consisted in speculating on the American debt, and in purchasing western lands for the purpose of immigration. For this reason he brought with him many letters of introduction, and he had the pleasure of meeting men like General Heath, John Adams, Samuel Adams, and Governor Hancock of Massachusetts. He likens men of this type to Cincinnatus, and he becomes so enthusiastic over the simplicity of their lives that the glass of cider, which General Heath handed him, seems superior to the most exquisite wines of France.

After a stay of several weeks in Boston and vicinity, he set out for New York and Philadelphia. The luxury of New York appalls him, and he especially declares that the introduction of carpets in New York seems to have been due to English influence, and he trusts that Boston may never catch the malady. The prevalent use of the cigar disgusted him, although he did see that it might assist reflection. After the luxuries of New York, it was a great relief to visit the Quakers in Pennsylvania.

"Simplicity, candour and good faith characterize the actions, as well as the discourses of the Quakers. They are not affected, but they are sincere; they are not polished, but they are humane; they have not that wit—that sparkling wit—without which a man is nothing in France, and with which he is everything; but they have good sense, sound judgment, upright hearts and honest souls."

One reason for Brissot's keen interest in the Quakers, as the author points out, was their common enthusiasm in work for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. His warm praise for everything American led him to much extravagance in speech. "In his enthusiasm he was guilty of a good deal of triviality. Liberty, in his opinion, accounted for everything, from the good

temper of the stage-driver to the large size of the windows in the hospitals—both of which, he declared, would be exceptional in a land of despotism. To liberty and equality was due the longevity of the people. To the absence of entire liberty and equality, in the case of women, was due the greater prevalence of consumption among their sex." There is an excellent appendix of selected letters and other documents, a full bibliography and a complete Index at the back of this volume. The work casts great credit on Vassar and is a model biography in every way.

The Mexican Problem. By Clarence W. Barron, with Introduction by Talcott Williams, LL.D. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. xxv+136.

So high an authority on international affairs as Dr. Talcott Williams considers these articles on the *Mexican Problem*, by one of America's best known financial experts as "a clear and wise economic picture of Mexico," beyond any others that he has read. No other book, he claims, "so grasps the clear, strong fact that Mexico is a hell on earth because Mexico has no law." It is a vivid picture Mr. Barron gives of Mexico in its dark tragic present, "with cartridges for currency," and as one falls under the sway of his graphic descriptions, it is hard to resist Dr. William's conclusion that the Mexican people should be given the same chance which was given to the people of Cuba.

There has always been a close connection between New England and Mexico. Fifty years ago the people of New England were giving lavishly to Protestant missionaries who had returned from Mexico to collect money, in order that they might "help spread truth and light before our fellow-man and brother over our southern border." Forty years ago came the appeal for railroads, and millions of New England dollars were poured into the project, which was not unlinked with religious "futures." There are seventeen million people in Mexico—ten million pure Aztecs, five million of partially Spanish origin, and two million pure Spanish and other foreigners. Where formerly it was estimated that there were fifty thousand Americans, there are not now five thousand. It is this motley of population which is the most difficult of all Mexico's problems, and the question of amalgamation appeals to many, particularly to the American east of the

Hudson, as one that can only be settled by conquest. New England settled its Indian problem in the old days by such a means, and it is not unfrequently heard nowadays that the United States failed to realize its heaven-sent chance of "conquering" Mexico in '48. Back of the idea of "conquering" Mexico—an idea, even though it comes from New England, that is quite Prussian in essence—is the desire of exploitation, and Mr. Barron has settled that possibility to his own mind once and for all. "The idea that Mexico is a land to be exploited by foreign princes passed away with Maximilian. The idea that it is to be exploited for the benefit of the United States must soon go by the boards, if it has not already gone." Mr. Barron holds that the redemption of Mexico must come from the "invasion of business," but business which has for its end the amelioration of the situation through technical training, higher wages, bank accounts, financial independence, and the rights of citizenship and accumulation. Much of his book centers around the story of one of these "invaders"—Mr. Edward L. Doheny, who, with his partner Canfield, entered Mexico in 1900 to prospect for petroleum, and about whom Mr. Barron has written an interesting chapter. In proof of his assertion that exploitation is not the cure for Mexico, Mr. Barron says that cooperation between Mexico and its Sister Republic of the North can never be accomplished until two popular, yet absolutely false, impressions of Mexico are removed. These popular fallacies are:

"First, that the natural wealth of Mexico has furnished a base for contending business interests from the United States to promote Mexican quarrels.

"Second, that the land question is at the bottom of the Mexican troubles."

With these two fallacies as a background, Mr. Barron points out that every policy begun by the United States during Mr. Wilson's presidency has been wrong. The President's attitude of non-intervention rendered the national government in Mexico powerless. "Wilson's words were posted over Mexico. It was 'open season' for all who could get the guns." Mr. Barron's book is written from Wall Street, and, while hardly worthy of the adjective historical, his book gives a new viewpoint to the Mexican Problem. It is oil, not religion, which he places at the root of the trouble.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Seventy-five Years which have just passed in the life of the University of Notre Dame have all the fascinating glamour of a romance. When Edward Sorin went out in the early winter of 1841 to the land hallowed by the memories of Marquette, Allouez, La Salle, and Hennepin, he faced a pioneer life which the land he left in Europe had not seen for ten centuries. The success of the three-quarters of a century of intellectual life, of missionary zeal, and of devotion to the nobler things of this world is evident to all who are acquainted with Notre Dame, and the brilliancy of the Jubilee which took place in June presages a national celebration of the highest type for its Centennial.

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington deserves the intelligent sympathy of all Catholic scholars in the historical field. The main purpose of the Department, as we read in the Report of 1916, is "to serve the interests of present and future makers of historical monographs and general histories, by providing aids belonging to one or the other of two main classes—either books which show the inquirer the existence and location, or assist him in the use of bodies of historical sources, or books which themselves present in proper scientific form the full text of important historical materials." The publications of the Department, therefore, are of two kinds: (1) *reports, aids, guides;* (2) *textual publications of documents.* We have on more than one occasion called the attention of our readers to the work published so far by the Department, especially to its *Guides.* Mention must be made of additional publications which bring a considerable mass of new material to the workshop of the historical student—FAUST, *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives of Switzerland and Austria;* GOLDER, *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives;* and HILL, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the* Papelas procedentes de Cuba, *deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.* It was the pleasure of the writer to meet Dr. Hill at Seville, during his investigations there, and to study the methods used by the corps of research-workers under his direction. Nothing escaped their eager eyes, with the result that some 500,000 documents were catalogued and indexed for this volume. Dr. Hill's work at Seville really takes on proportions of an heroic kind, and every Catholic student of history is his debtor. Dr. Leland, the courteous Secretary of the Department, has devoted a large part of the past year to working over the notes he took during his various expedition to Paris, and his published work—now held up by the war—will furnish the student with a *Guide to the Materials in Parisian Archives.* Dr. Paullin has nearly completed his *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States,* and Miss Davenport is continuing her work on the *Treaties between European Powers, relating to American History.* Mr. Leo Stock, a member of the Department, and a graduate of the Catholic University, has in preparation the *Proceedings and Debates of Parliament respecting North America from* 1585 *to* 1783. Work

such as this, done with all that splendid accuracy which the thoroughly-equipped organization of the Department commands, needs no praise. These scholars labor for the love of the science. They are preparing the way,' pioneer-like, for the next generation. Hardly any corporate body in the United States gains more by this scholarship than the Catholic Church. Let us hope that one day a cooperative spirit will be shown, and that from out its wealth the Catholic Church of the United States will follow up the pathways these men have cut through the wilderness of documentary material, and bring together all that relates to its own wonderful history in America.

Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678–1702: The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola, by William Edward Dunn, is a welcome addition to the excellent historical studies of the Latin-American staff of the University of Texas (*University of Texas Bulletin* No. 1705, Austin, 1917). The work deals with the Spanish opposition to the La Salle colony of the Gulf coast, and the subsequent Spanish settlement at Pensacola. The abundance of new matter it contains comes mostly from that rich mine, the *Archivo General de Indias*, at Seville, where the author spent sixteen months in the interests of the University of Texas and the Library of Congress. The treatment of the founding of the missions among the "Texas" Indians is full, and is important for the Catholic historian. The note (p. 107) on Madre María de Agreda will need a slight revision on the publication of the Benavides Propaganda *Memorial* of 1634 (cf. *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. iii, pp. 76–78). The work has a good bibliography and a full index, but typographically it suggests haste.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland's article *Concerning Catholic Historical Societies* in the January (1917) issue of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, has been very favorably commented upon by Father William Busch, the editor of *Acta et Dicta* (July, 1917), the official publication of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul. "Evidences are not lacking," Father Busch writes, "of increasing recognition of the importance of Catholic historical activity . . . More gratifying still is the news in this same regard from St. Louis, the announcement, namely, of the foundation of a Catholic Historical Society in St. Louis under the presidency of the Most Rev. Archbishop Glennon." In the second edition of the *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* of the United States and Canada, prepared by Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin for the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year* 1905 (Washington, 1907), the student interested in the history of American Catholic historical activity will find listed the work done and published so far by the different Catholic historical societies which have been founded in the United States. There have no doubt been organizations of this kind in various parts of the country which have never gone beyond the stage of inception; but the following list tells its own story of success and failure.

1. 1884—**American Catholic Historical Society** (of Philadelphia). (See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 193–195.)
   (*a*) *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Quarterly).
   (*b*) Martin I. J. Griffin's *American Catholic Researches* (1887–1912).
   (*c*) *Records and Researches of the American Catholic Historical Society* (since 1912).
2. 1884—**United States Catholic Historical Society** (of New York). (See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. ii, pp. 303–306.)
   (*a*) *The United States Catholic Historical Magazine* (1888–1892).
   (*b*) *Historical Records and Studies* (1899–1904).
   (*c*) *Monograph Series* (1902 –).
3. 1884—**Ohio Valley Catholic Historical Society**. (See CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 435–438.)
   (*a*) *Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania, Principally Catholic* (1884–1885), Vol. i, with four numbers.
   (*b*) *Catholic Historical Researches* (1885–1886), Vol. ii and iii. This magazine was purchased by Martin I. J. Griffin in December, 1886, and was issued as the *American Historical Researches* from 1887 until his death in 1912.
4. 1901—**Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society.** *Records* (one volume published in 1901).
5. 1901—**New England Catholic Historical Society.** *Publications* (five numbers appeared between 1901–1904).
6. 1905—**Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul.** *Acta et Dicta* (1907 –).
7. 1913—**Maine Catholic Historical Society.** *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine.*
8. 1917—**Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.**

The story of this last foundation is described by its Secretary, Father Rothensteiner, in the following letter to the Editor:—

St. Louis, Mo.,
August 23, 1917.

My dear Doctor:

As Secretary of the *Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis,* I should ere this have informed you of our aims and prospects. The history of the Church in the Diocese of St. Louis, including all the territory that was at any time under its jurisdiction, is our special field of investigation. It is a most promising field, yet one that has, so far, received but little attention. Efforts have been made at various times.

On the 26th day of January, 1839, Bishop Rosati issued a call for a Diocesan Synod. Among other matters of importance the Bishop writes: *Sacerdotes qui curam habent animarum, notitiam accuratam Parochiarum suarum, seu Missionum nobis scriptis dabunt juxta omnia capita, quae hic enumerantur:* (here follow the usual statistics under thirteen heads). The Bishop then concludes: "*Demum sacerdotes rogamus ut inquirant et colligant monumenta historica, sive scriptis existentia, sive viva voce ab antiquioribus et fide dignis circa primam fundationem Parochiae, Ecclesiae, et etiam loci in quo existit, et meliori quo possunt modo conficiant notitiam et secum afferant.*" This gathering of historical material was carried out, in a measure, though not so thoroughly as we could desire. The archives of the St. Louis chancery contain the fruit of these labors, and will, when made accessible, add very materially to our knowledge of the early days of the Diocese.

On November 5, 1878, a number of St. Louis priests originated a society for the purpose of historical research. Very Rev. Henry Van der Sanden was elected *President*, Rev. James McCabe, *Recording Secretary;* Rev. Charles Ziegler, *Corresponding Secretary for the English-speaking clergy*, and Rev. Herman Leygraaf, *Corresponding Secretary for the German clergy*. This announcement says:

> "Impressed by the fact that every age is the maker of its own history, that none can bear more truthful witness to the events transpiring than the actors in its ever-changing scenes, it was deemed very important to possess a record of the lives, labors and sacrifices of our predecessors in the holy ministry—to preserve and transmit their traditions. It was agreed that a knowledge of their privations, of their difficulties and of their successes, would stimulate our zeal, would encourage our emulation, and it was considered opportune to make an immediate beginning, the more so as we have still in our midst living representatives of the pioneers of our early Catholic Missions.
>
> "Moreover, the local parochial history, written by the incumbent pastors throughout the diocese, will in the distant future be a fruitful source of instruction and edification for our successors."

The success of this Historical Society of St. Louis did not fulfil the expectations of its founders except in so far as the President, Very Rev. Van der Sanden, as Chancellor of the Archdiocese, was induced to guard with even greater care the priceless treasures of the Diocesan Archives, lest they should fall under the eye of the profane and frivolous.

Omitting from the present account the activities of the "Central-Stelle," as pursuing historical studies only as incidental to its sociological endeavors; and the "Historical Commission of the Catholic Union of Missouri," as restricting its efforts to the History of the German Catholics of Missouri, I come to the recently established Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. I quote from the *Church Progress:*

> "The project, long in contemplation, for effectually conserving early Catholic data and traditions, is about to be achieved. St. Louis is to have a Catholic Historical Society, with the Mississippi Valley, and particularly the old diocese of St. Louis, as its chosen field of investigation. Most Rev. Archbishop Glennon at the close of the Junior Clergy examinations, February 7, 1917, suggested the foundation of the Society, and invited Rt. Rev. Mgr. Connelly, P.R., V.G., and Rt. Rev. J. J. Tannrath, as well as members of the Board of Diocesan Examiners, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Tallon, Rev. John Rothensteiner, Rev. Francis Gilfillan, S.J.L., Very Rev. M. S. Ryan, C.M., D.D., Rev. Joseph Wentker, Rev. F. G. Holweck, Rev. F. J. Jones, Rev. F. X. Willmes, P.R., Rev. E. J. Lemkes, Rev. Jos. Selinger, S.T.L., Rev. J. T. Shields, Rev. H. Hussman and Rev. C. L. Souvay, C.M., S.T.D., to become the charter members of the new Association. The proposition met with unanimous and enthusiastic consent. His Grace then announced his intention of calling a meeting of both priests and laymen to take the necessary steps for organizing 'The Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.' In his introductory remarks the Archbishop dwelt on the fact that although much of the historical material fit to illustrate the foundation and program of the Church in the Mississippi Valley had already perished, or was in danger of being lost, there was still an abundant supply awaiting the earnest collector's hand.
>
> Later, at a meeting at St. Teresa's Rectory, officers were chosen and a Committee on Constitution and By-Laws appointed which at subsequent

meetings submitted a draft of Constitution and By-Laws which was adopted.

The following extracts from the Constitution and By-Laws explain in detail the objects, means and membership of the Society:

"Constitution, Art. III. The object of this Society shall be: To collect and preserve materials of all kinds, such as books, pamphlets, papers, manuscripts, maps, documents, pictures and other objects of historic interest, relating to the Catholic history of the Diocese of St. Louis and of whatever territories and places were at any time associated with St. Louis in the same ecclesiastical division; to institute, carry on, and foster historical research on subjects pertaining to the field of inquiry above described, and disseminate such information.

"By-Laws, Art. I, Sec. 2. Any person of good character, whether ecclesiastical, religious or lay, of either sex, in sympathy with the work and aims of the Society, shall be eligible to membership; Sec. 7: The annual dues of active members shall be five dollars ($5.00), payable in advance; the dues for life membership shall be one hundred dollars."

The President of the Society is Most. Rev. J. J. Glennon, D.D.
First Vice-President, Rt. Rev. Mgr. J. A. Connolly, V.G.
Secretary, Rev. John Rothensteiner, 1911 N. Taylor Ave.
Treasurer, Rt. Rev. J. J. Tannrath, 209 Walnut Street.

Thus the latest society for the purpose of historical investigation has been inaugurated. We look forward with hope and confidence, born of the conviction that the work is necessary. For the present we need all the encouragement we can get "in thought, word and deed."

Very sincerely yours,
JOHN ROTHENSTEINER, *Secretary,*
Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis.

That a beginning is being made in another rich field of American Catholic History is evident from the following letter which Bishop Lillis of Kansas City, Mo., recently sent to all his clergy.

DIOCESE OF KANSAS CITY, MO.

November 24, 1916.

Dear Reverend Father:

I shall be most grateful to receive from every pastor in the diocese a short narrative of the local history of the parish in his charge from the time of its foundation to the present year, and I ask you to prepare in your leisure hours three (or more) typewritten pages, embracing all notable facts and dates deserving of mention. Convinced that much material will be at your disposal for this purpose, it will be necessary to make a judicious selection of what is really important and characteristic, avoiding the laudatory tone and long comments on single events. The merit of this work may not be apparent at present, but it will be as years roll by, and we should endeavor to rescue from oblivion all historical matter of value.

I believe that the Diocesan Statutes (No. 153) offer the best suggestions as to what facts and dates should find expression in a paper of this kind:, viz

(*a*) WHEN AND BY WHOM WAS PARISH ESTABLISHED? NAME OF CHURCH, ITS COST. NUMBER OF FAMILIES AT TIME OF ORGANIZATION. PRESENT NUMBER OF FAMILIES. NAMES OF PASTORS (AND ASSIS-

TANTS) WHO HAD CHARGE OF PARISH. DECEASED PRIESTS (YEAR OF DEATH). MEMBERS AND BENEFACTORS INTERESTED IN WELFARE AND PROGRESS OF PARISH. CONVERTS. RECTORY. CEMETERY.

(*b*) SCHOOL—WHEN ORGANIZED, TEACHERS IN CHARGE, ITS GROWTH, NUMBER OF PUPILS, COST OF BUILDING. TEACHERS' RESIDENCE.

(*c*) ACADEMIES, CONVENTS, HOSPITALS, CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN THE PARISH. WHEN ESTABLISHED. RELIGIOUS ORDER IN CHARGE.

(*d*) CATHOLIC SOCIETIES, SODALITIES, CONFRATERNITIES. BY WHOM AND WHEN ORGANIZED. NUMBER OF MEMBERS.

(*e*) NOTABLE EVENTS: DEDICATION SERVICES, CONFIRMATION DAY, JUBILEES, MISSIONS, CONVENTIONS, DISTINGUISHED VISITORS, ETC.

One copy, with your signature, should be sent to the Chancery for filing before March 1, 1917, and the other kept in the Parish Archives.

Your servant in Christ,

✠ THOMAS F. LILLIS.

Other evidences of increasing interest can be seen in the numerous parish histories which have appeared the past two years, but no one will claim that the Catholic clergy and people have yet awakened to the duty of multiplying these Historical Societies all over the United States. Probably the most striking want in this regard is the absence of a Catholic Historical Society in California. There, at least, is a legacy of Catholic life, which cannot be paralleled even in Catholic Maryland.

The following encouraging statement has been prepared for the REVIEW by a prominent Knight of Columbus, of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

A LIBRARY OF CATHOLIC AMERICANA

To cultivate a deep and practical sense of Patriotism is the purpose of the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus. Next to the motive of practicing love of country because it is a virtue, no influence can be more stimulating and inspiring than a broad knowledge of the glorious history of America. Consequently the Long Island Assembly of the Fourth Degree believes that it has advanced true patriotism by voting enthusiastically to establish and maintain a library of "Catholic Americana," containing standard historical and biographical works of every description by Catholic American authors, with particular reference to local history, and to urge the founding of such libraries by every Fourth Degree Assembly in the country through the Supreme authorities.

Far from usurping the functions of local Catholic Historical Societies, cooperation with them is sought, as is also the permanency, cultivation and spread of this great work through a well-organized, closely-united and self-perpetuating body interested in the matter; and such a body is the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus.

To stimulate study and research and to provide a place and other means therefore; to spread knowledge, which is power; to establish archives, particularly for local history, so often neglected; to arouse greater patriotic enthusiasm for a country, ours by so many and such noble ties and claims; to generate emulation of the heroic deeds of our Catholic forebears, are some of the purposes that prompted the movement. Slanderous and calumniating

articles, such as *The Clamor of the Missions* in the February, 1917, *New Era*, hastened the adoption of the plan.

"Divided loyalty" is the general charge against us. A study of our history will educate a greater number of champions of the truth, who, by authentic fact and figure, will be able to refute the accusation and to establish the eloquent claim to the contrary. Such a corps will be trained by the Speakers Bureau of the Long Island Chapter, Knights of Columbus, as the lectures in the next fall term will bear on the history of our country from the Catholic viewpoint.

The expense entailed is of slight moment. A few hundred dollars will cover lots of ground. Enthusiasm for the Faith and for our Country is required mainly. Therefore, to apply the stirring slogan of the day: "Arise, Catholic America, Your Country needs you," and in more ways than one.

CATHOLIC AMERICANA

Whereas, the Cultivation of a better knowledge of the glorious history of the Catholic Church in our Country and the spread of the magnificent record of Catholic achievement in the discovery, colonization and evangelization of these parts and in the establishment and maintenance of our Union must be a purpose fundamental to the objects of the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus; and

Whereas, interest in such study will promote a loftier loyalty and a more intelligent devotion to the high ideals of our republic; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we, the Long Island Assembly of the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus, facilitate the realization of these patriotic purposes by the establishment of a library of Catholic Americana, containing the best historical and biographical works by Catholic American authors, with particular reference to local history.

Resolved, that such a library be established and maintained by receiving donations of suitable books, pamphlets, papers and the like, and by voluntary contributions of one dollar (or more, at pleasure) per member of The Long Island Fourth Degree Assembly, and that its members and their families be entitled to the exclusive use of the library.

Resolved, that said library be maintained in the Knights of Columbus Institute, 81 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y., and that the Faithful Navigator appoint a committee of three to be known as the Library Committee for its proper establishment and supervision.

Resolved, that we recommend to our delegates to the Local District Convention to suggest to the Supreme Convetion of the Fournth Degree the establishment of such a library in every Fourth Degree Assembly, wherever feasible.

Respectfully submitted,
JOSEPH J. TIMMES, *Chairman*,
WILLIAM F. X. GEOGHAN,
JOSEPH W. MANDART,
Library Committee.

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

New York, April 25, 1917.

The United States Catholic Historical Society invites your cooperation in a plan for the promotion of the study of American Catholic history, believing it

to be an influential instrument of education and a sure means for the conservation and spread of the Faith.

To enlist the immediate and practical interest of students in Catholic colleges in research work among the records of American Catholic achievements, the Historical Society has determined to offer for competition by the students of the Catholic colleges of the United States a prize of one hundred dollars in gold for the best essay on any one of the following topics:

I. *The Centenary of Illinois:* (Dec. 30, 1918) Catholic Landmarks and Achievements, Past and Present, in the State.

II. *Catholic Social Service* as illustrated by the Creightons of Omaha; the Mulanphies of St. Louis; Margaret Haughery of New Orleans; Carney of Boston; Heeney and the Parmentiers of New York; the Drexels of Philadelphia, and the founders of benevolent institutions elsewhere.

III. The *Marcus Whitman Myth* and the *Missionary History of Oregon.*

The CONDITIONS governing this contest are:

1. Every contestant must be certified by the faculty as a student in course, in a Catholic college.

2. The MS. which must be typewritten must contain no fewer than 2,500 words and may not exceed 5,000 words. It must be received at the office of the *United States Catholic Historical Society,* 346 Convent Ave., New York, before November 1, 1917.

3. The papers will be passed on by the Editing Committee of the Historical Society, and the final award will be made by a special committee composed of the Rev. R. H. Tierney, S.J., Editor of *America;* Dr. Condé B. Pallen, Managing Editor of the *Catholic Encyclopoedia,* and Thomas F. Woodlock, Esq.

The successful essay will be published in the issue of the United States Catholic Historical Society's *Records and Studies* immediately following the award.

We earnestly request your kind assistance in bringing this project before the students of your institution.

Very truly yours,

STEPHEN FARRELLY,
President.

Joseph H. Fargis,
Corresponding Secretary.

The actual conditions which prevail in Catholic Church organization, social as well as ecclesiastical, have gained so noteworthy an advance over those of a hundred years ago, that it is a question whether its leaders, cleric and lay, should delay longer in the formation of an American Catholic Historical Association. The nucleus from which such a natural body should arise already exists in two of our cities, and if the hierarchy of the country were to give the project its support, there is no reason why such an organization should not be established within the near future. Until that moment arrives, there is no harm in calling the attention of Diocesan officials to their bounden duty to preserve all records for the future historians of the Church here. We have received several letters upon this important aspect of Church life in America; in one of them a rather forceful plea is made that the archives of every diocese be kept upon the latest methods. "The chanceries of every diocese," this

prominent ecclesiastic writes, "are or ought to be equipped with modern methods of indexing and filing. There are exceptions, it is true, since some Dioceses still cling to the haphazard methods which prevail in so many governmental centers—the worst arranged of which, without doubt, are the Archives of the Federal Government at Washington. Every Chancery office should be organized on a strictly business basis, and all parochial records of more than ordinary historical importance should be sent there to be properly indexed, catalogued and preserved. There records ought to be easily accessible to all qualified students whether Catholic or non-Catholic. Every Diocese should have an accredited archivist, whose duty it would be to keep all records of importance and upon whom the responsibility would rest for their use by students." We have waited a long while for a concerted movement on the part of our bishops in this regard, and the future will have its own harsh judgment for our general neglect to preserve the past. The model Ecclesiastical Archives of the country are at Georgetown University, and photographs of the Archival vault there with all its appurtenances could be sent to all those in whose hands these valuable records for the future now lie.

Historical scholars in every part of the United States recognize with the highest sympathy the Catholic past of our beloved country; but they cannot be expected to devote themselves exclusively to that Catholic past. What they have done through the different State Historical Societies for the conservation of the Catholic history of the land has never been fully recognized and seldom repaid. The roster of these State Historical Societies contains very few Catholic names, and very little Catholic generosity finds its way into their treasury. No diocese in the country ought to be without its CATHOLIC LIBRARY, containing all that has been published on the State in which it is, on the large cities of that State, and on all that concerns Catholic life within its district. There should be a CATHOLIC MUSEUM, where all relics of the past might be housed —for there are monumenta of as great importance as the documentary archives. There should be a well-organized CATHOLIC ARCHIVES, under episcopal control, where the documentary history of the past could be carefully preserved. Only the shame of it makes one refrain from telling the full story of the fate of many an episcopal archives in this country. And for gathering up these varied activities into one body, there should be an AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION which would meet year by year in conjunction with the American Historical Association, would draw encouragement and zeal from personal contact with its members, and would thus weave into the immeasurable activity of historical scholars throughout the land the story of Catholic effort, of Catholic success, and of Catholic patriotism.

The *Richmond College Historical Papers* (Vol. i, No. 2, June, 1916) contains four papers, two of which are important to the Church historian, the *Virginia Loyalists* (1775–83), and the *Campaign of* 1855 *in Virginia and the Fall of the Know-Nothing Party*. Miss Gay, who writes the latter paper, displays a thorough grasp of the subject. The movement is one that can be treated quite

objectively now, and her description of its rise and fall in Virginia politics deserves attention and commendation.

The Friars Preacher: A Seventh Centenary Sketch, by the Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., whose studies in Dominican history have appeared in the pages of this REVIEW, has been published. The purpose of the work is to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the founding of the Order. An entire section of the book deals with the work of the Dominicans in the United States.

Are we coming closer to the real cause of the American Revolution? There are many students of American History, both Catholic and non-Catholic, who are inclined to the theory that the economic causes usually listed in our text-books are not the whole story, and, indeed, do not contain the important facts for a thoroughly reliable judgment on that glorious event. Somehow, cause and effect do not balance well; and one wonders whether the price England paid—the loss of her American colonies—was the result of something more fundamental than the customary stock in trade of historical facts given to our school children—Stamp Act riots, Boston Massacre, Tea controversy, and the national spirit of independence. Our knowledge of the Loyalist movement throughout the Colonies and of the principles upon which the Tories based their determination to remain within the Empire is not complete. The orthodox history on this point has met with several severe shocks within the past decade, and the last attempt at an adequate explanation of the Revolution comes from the pen of Professor Alvord in his *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (2 vols., Arthur H. Clarke Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1917). A still more potent factor remains to be dealt with by an impartial historian—the Influence of the Quebec Act in the Colonies, and Dr. Alvord's classic volumes already cast considerable light upon this fundamentally religious aspect of our Revolution. The real truth will gradually emerge from such studies as those of the eminent historian of the Mississippi Valley.

There is an interesting hypothesis suggested by Coffin in his *Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution* (1896), between that "most unfortunate of enactments"—the Quebec Act of 1774, and the racial and religious difficulties which existed in Canada since that time and which have been accentuated by the present war. Are the French Canadians of today—"isolated in the midst of an Anglo-Saxon world,"—to be brought by force to an Anglicization which was halted by the divisions created through this Act of one hundred and fifty years ago? Was the Quebec Act an early acceptance of the policy of "small nationalities?" We need a new study of this important piece of Colonial legislation which gave to "His Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said Province of Quebec" the right to "have, hold and enjoy," the Free Exercise of that Religion. Coffin sees in this enactment the "patronage of some malign genius; for the unfortunate nature of its provisions is equalled by the unhappy moment of its appearance."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

HISTORICAL CRITICISM

Criticism has not always borne a good name. Historical criticism became prominent at a time when the so-called Higher Criticism of the Scriptures was enjoying its day of notoriety; and the rather dubious reputation the latter acquired in circles where the Bible was still revered as the Inspired Word, cast a shadow upon the value of the former as a constructive science or inquiry into the truth. We see an evidence of this in the Introduction of Père Delehaye's book on the *Legends of the Saints*. "Historical criticism," he says, "when applied to the lives of the saints, has had certain results which are in no way surprising to those who are accustomed to handle documents and to interpret inscriptions, but which have had a somewhat disturbing effect on the mind of the general public. . . . If you suggest that the biographer of a saint has been unequal to his task, or that he has not professed to write as a historian, you are accused of attacking the saint himself, who, it appears, is too powerful to allow himself to be compromised by an indiscreet panegyrist. If, again, you venture to express doubt concerning certain marvellous incidents repeated by the author on insufficient evidence, although well calculated to enhance the glory of the saint, you are at once suspected of lack of faith. You are told you are introducing the spirit of rationalism into history, as though in questions of fact it were not above all things essential to weigh the evidence. How often has not an accusation of destructive criticism been flung, and men treated as iconoclasts, whose sole object has been to appraise at their true value the documents which justify our attitude of veneration, and who are only too happy when able to declare that one of God's friends has been fortunate enough to find a historian worthy of his task."[1] What the well-known Bollandist says, somewhat caustically, it is true, of hagiography, holds equally well for biography in general. American Catholic history thus far is largely biographical, and it is from the published Lives of the leaders of the Church here that the future historian will be compelled to gather the larger part of his materials. To detect inferior workmanship in what we already possess, to clear the road of the mass of rubbish which has not only hindered the progress of knowledge but which has been allowed to stand as certified history, to insist upon a technical method of research, of criticism, and of composition in all that is offered to us, must eventually prevail if American Catholic history is to be protected against historiasters in the future. American Catholic history is or ought to be a subject too sacred to the deepest feelings of faith and of patriotism for anyone to enter into the field without a well-balanced judgment on the value of the sources at his disposal. All data furnished to him by former writers, by tradition, or by archival depots must be tested, in order that the truth or error they contain may be known and appreciated at its proper value. To test is to criticise; and while criticism is not the chief end of historical research, still, no conclusions may be made by the research-worker until all his material has passed through the sieve of historical criticism.

[1] H. DELEHAYE, S.J., *Legends of the Saints*, pp. vii-viii. New York, 1907.

"The processes of Criticism fall naturally into two parts. The first important step is to determine whether the given source is at all admissible as evidence, or, in other words, *whether the material is genuine or not.* Conclusions are worthless and labor is wasted if the document is fraudulent or misjudged. It is necessary to know at the outset whether the chronicle, charter, or relic is in reality what it claims to be, or what it has been esteemed to be. It is important to determine where and when it originated, who was its author, and where he derived his information. The rules of procedure by which these facts are determined in historical research constitute EXTERNAL CRITICISM . . . The second part of the critical process *weighs the relation of the testimony to the truth.* One must decide whether the statements made are trustworthy and, if not absolutely certain, whether they are probable. The degree of probability or possibility must be determined, or, if necessary, the whole cast out as worthless. This is INTERNAL CRITICISM, and is often called Higher Criticism, since it deals with more important matter than external form."[2]

1. EXTERNAL CRITICISM is that part of the historical method which determines the authenticity of the source. The document is somewhat like a prisoner at the bar. Its genuineness must be tested, where possible, by paleographical and diplomatic criticism. It must be localized in time and place. It must be ascertained, whether in its present state it exists exactly as its author left it. In order to test its genuineness, the student must ask himself if it is what it appears to be or if it is a forgery. One is too apt to imagine that historical forgeries passed out of style with the Middle Ages. The document must be viewed from every possible angle. Its agreement or disagreement with facts known from other genuine sources of the same place and period, or on the same subject, will often be a deciding factor in its authenticity. The writer's ignorance of facts which he should have known and which should have been mentioned in the document, or the record of events which he clearly could not have known at the time of writing, are other signs of genuinity or of its absence. A document proven probably genuine by these tests can often be heightened in value by an analysis which may restore it to its original state, or which may accentuate the historicity of the facts it contains. The *False Decretals*, or the *Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals*, are a good example of the value of External Criticism. Of the one hundred documents contained in the collection, which was written about 852, about five are authentic. It is by analyzing the *Decretals* and by localizing them in place and time, that the student is enabled to see the constant use of material which the Popes to whom they are attributed could never have known. Letters from the Popes of the first three centuries, for instance, contain parts of documents dating from the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. The importance of a strict test for historical material is easily recognizable when one reflects that these *False Decretals*, although a hugh forgery, passed for genuine all through the Middle Ages;[3] and when especially one touches the delicate question of how far these forgeries contributed to papal authority in that period. The sum

[2] VINCENT, *Historical Research: An Outline of Theory and Practice*, pp. 19–20. New York, 1911.

[3] HINSCHIUS, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, preface. Leipzig, 1863. FOURNIER, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vols. vii (1906), vii (1907), *passim*.

total of all these operations will give the student a fair idea of how far his source or sources may be trusted as authentic. A further question arises—whether the material facts found in the source can be used as evidence for the work in hand.

2. INTERNAL CRITICISM is that part of the historical method which determines the historicity of the facts contained in the document. It is not of absolute necessity that the document be proven genuine; even forgeries or documents with truncated truths may contain available material. But before any conclusion is admissible, the facts contained in the document must be tested. In order to determine the value of these facts, the character of the sources, the knowledge of the author, and the influences prevalent at the time of writing must be carefully investigated. We must first be certain that we know exactly what the author said and that we understand what he wrote as he understood it. It would be misleading, for example, to see in the words *lex*, *homo*, or *scutagium* of the *Magna Charta* (1215) the same meaning as is found in classical Latin dictionaries. Moreover, the facts given by the author or writer must be firmly established as having taken place exactly as reported. The student or research-worker must be permeated with an earnest desire to reach the truth and must be, as far as it lies within his power, indifferent to the results of his inquiry or criticism. What is of the utmost importance in dealing with any source, whether it be a volume already in print or a document hitherto used or unused by historians, is that the student jealously guard himself against the danger of seeing if it agrees with preconceived conclusions of his own. "Tout ce qui brouille la vue doit être impitoyablement ecarté," says Fonck.[4] In their excellent *Introduction to the Study of History* (p. 69), Langlois and Seignobos warn the student that criticism is antagonistic to the normal bent of the mind. "The spontaneous tendency of man is to yield assent to affirmations, and to reproduce them, without even clearly distinguishing them from the results of his own observation. In everyday life do we not accept indiscriminately, without any kind of verification, hearsay reports, anonymous and unguaranteed statements, 'documents' of indifferent or inferior authority? It takes a special reason to induce us to take the trouble to examine into the origin and value of a document on the history of yesterday; otherwise, if there is no outrageous improbability in it, and as long as it is not contradicted, we swallow it whole, we pin our faith to it, we hawk it about, and, if need be, embellish it in the process. Every candid man must admit that it requires a violent effort to shake off *ignavia critica*, that common form of intellectual sloth, that this effort must be continually repeated, and is often accompanied by real pain. The natural instinct of a man in the water is to do precisely that which will infallibly cause him to be drowned; learning to swim means acquiring the habit of suppressing spontaneous movements and performing others instead. Similarly, criticism is not a natural habit; it must be inculcated, and only becomes organic by dint of continued practice."

Consequently, as they conclude, historical work is pre-eminently critical, and whoever enters upon it without having first been put on his guard against his instinct is sure to be drowned in it. It may not be necessary for the student

[4] LEOPOLD FONCK, S.J., *Le Travail Scientifique*, p. 47. Paris, 1911.

to set for himself rules of such geometrical rigidity as Descartes has done;[5] for methodical distrust towards all statements contained in the documents he uses, or an *a priori* suspicion that they are erroneous, may not always be the safest path to follow to the discovery of truth. In ecclesiastical history, at any rate, a certain power of sympathetic understanding is essential to any real insight of the period or movement in question.[6]

Enough has been said to emphasize the value and the necessity of Historical Criticism. The different processes already alluded to may be summed up as follows:[7]

I. *External Criticism.*
   1. Testing the Genuineness of the Source.
   2. Localizing it (time, place, author).
   3. Analyzing it (Recension and Restoration of text).

II *Internal Criticism.*
   1. Determining the value of the Source.
   2. Interpretation of the source.
   3. Establishment of the facts.[8]

Besides the works already mentioned, there are many books on the subject of Historical Criticism; space prevents any attempt at a complete list in these pages. BERNHEIM'S fourth chapter (pp. 325–332) contains a good bibliography and LANGLOIS-SEIGNOBOS give other works not included in BERNHEIM. The classical work on the subject before BERNHEIM was CHARLES DE SMEDT, S.J., *Principles de la Critique historique* (Paris, 1887). On the history of the growth of critical historical studies, the student will do well to consult the second part of LANGLOIS, *Manual de Bibliographie historique*, and for special reference to America, JAMESON, *History of Historical Writing in America* (Boston, 1891). Other works of reference on the subject are H. A. GEORGE, *Historical Evidence* (Oxford, 1909); MACE, *Method in History for Teachers and Students* (Boston, 1902); DROYSEN-ANDREWS, *Outline of the Principles of History* (Boston, 1893); ACTON, *A Lecture in the Study of History Delivered at Cambridge, June* 11, 1895 (London, 1895); FREEMAN, *Methods of Historical Study*, Lecture III—*The Nature of Historical Evidence* (London, 1886).

[5] See his famous four precepts in the *Discours de la Méthode*, second part.

[6] COLLINS, *Study of Ecclesiastical History*, p. 45. London, 1903.

[7] Cf. BERNHEIM, *Lehrbuch der historichen Methode*, Chapter 4 (Kritik). Leipzig, 1908.

[8] In his *Institutions du moyen Age*, a privately printed Manual which Canon Cauchie gave to his students at the University of Louvain, the subject of Historical Criticism is dealt with in a somewhat different way, though essentially the processes are the same. He defines (p. 67) Criticism as the art of discerning the true from the false, and divides the work into three parts: 1. *Connaître la provenance des sources.* 2. *Les comprendre.* 3. *Déterminer la valeur de leurs renseignements.* In other words:

1. External criticism or Provenance of the sources (Lower criticism, Erudition, Material Criticism).
   (*a*) Direct or Immediate Provenance, or the *Criticism of Authenticity.*
   (*b*) Indirect or Mediate Provenance, or the *Criticism of Originality.*
   (*c*) Reconstruction of the primitive text or the *Criticism of Integrity.*
2. Internal Criticism or Historical Value of Source.
   (*a*) Analytical Interpretation (Hermeneutics or Exegesis, Philology).
   (*b*) Value of the Source, or *Criticism of Authority.*